

# MUSIC & LETTERS

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## SOME THOUGHTS ON ELGAR (1857-1934)

BY DONALD MITCHELL

It is a commonplace that Elgar's reputation has suffered a certain decline. His music, to put it crudely, is a little out of fashion. I doubt whether we shall ever again experience the musical atmosphere—perhaps social or cultural would be the better word—in which public enthusiasm for his music will call for performances that stagger one in their sheer numerical extravagance. (I have in mind the reception of the first Symphony: in England alone, “nearly one hundred performances in its first year”.<sup>1</sup>)

Demand, at this pitch, is unlikely to recur. On the other hand, Elgar remains widely played and widely cherished—hence my cautious choice of adjectives above, “certain” and “little”. He may, to a degree, be out of fashion, but he is not out of favour. In the not very long roll of great English composers he continues to wear his greatness without discomfort, without serious challenge. The “fashion” that has, in a sense, contributed to Elgar's unfashionableness has been this very assumption of his significant calibre, an assumption more in the nature of passive tribute than the result of active acquaintance with the manifestation of his greatness that resides in his music. There is a real danger, I think (at least in my generation), of simply taking Elgar for granted—a polite expression for what elsewhere might be termed indifference or neglect. If I have a wish for this centenary year, it is that we should be prodded into a genuine recognition, rather than a mere admission, of Elgar's genius.

I have no immodest wish to indulge in autobiography on such an

<sup>1</sup> Diana M. McVeagh, ‘Elgar’ (Dent, London, 1955), p. 50.

occasion, but a personal event may illustrate how fashion and a hardened habit of mind may combine to Elgar's disadvantage. I was invited, recently, to participate in a series of broadcasts (for consumption in a Commonwealth country) entitled 'Twentieth-Century Masterpieces'. Each contributor was asked to offer three works by different composers. It did not take me more than a moment's thought to jot down my three composers' names (the works are of no importance here): Mahler, Stravinsky and Britten. The trinity, I well realize, represents not only personal inclination but fashion—we are all children of our time—besides, of course, what I hope is a measure of good judgment. It was not until long after, when reading through the complete list of chosen "masterpieces", with its inevitable omissions, that I noticed that Elgar was absent; and it was then that I suddenly—and guiltily—realized that I might have promoted Elgar as a candidate had the thought occurred to me—but it hadn't. Since I am a warm-hearted admirer of Elgar's music and since the programmes themselves were liberally conceived—there was none of that inverted parochialism about them that concentrates solely on progressive continental masters, and a work, to qualify, only required to be composed after 1900—I am obliged to attribute my forgetfulness not just to fashion but to that slack taking-for-granted turn of mind that can effectively bury a composer while ostensibly keeping his memory green.

Looked at from the "masterpiece" point of view, it would seem to me that almost any one of Elgar's major works written between 1900 and 1919—'Gerontius', either of the two Symphonies, 'Falstaff', the violin or cello Concerto (the "Enigma" Variations just miss the chronological boat)—would have deserved a place amid masterpieces composed after 1900. "Twentieth-century masterpiece", however, implies something other than simply written *after* 1900, and here, perhaps, we uncover some excuse for not immediately shouting "Elgar!" in a twentieth-century context.

If we examine the careers of three of Elgar's leading European contemporaries, Strauss, Mahler and Reger, all of them born long before the turn of the century and creatively active—substantially so—after it, we find that in relation to them, or to their works rather, "twentieth-century" takes on another colour: their music, in fact, has coloured, in a very real sense, the century. The transition from Reger to Hindemith, for instance, is an obvious one, while Mahler's influence is evident not only in the younger generation of his day—Berg, Schoenberg—but in the younger generation of our own—Copland, Britten, Shostakovich. The question of masterpieces apart, there is no denying the fact that both Reger and Mahler (Strauss,

perhaps, to a lesser degree) not only anticipated certain prominent trends in twentieth-century music proper but actually assisted in the formation of our twentieth-century musical language.

The same can scarcely be said of Elgar, neither from a European angle nor from an English one. His successors here, in so far as he has had any, have been minor creative figures who have cultivated only very minor aspects of his genius—its secondary characteristics, not its breadth or depth (for example, the whimsicality of the *Serenade for strings*, not the heroic poetry of the symphonies or the human insight of *'Falstaff'*). The two composers of weight who have reacted to Elgar are Bliss and Walton, both of whom, oddly enough, set out as innovators rather than traditionalists, and both of whom, far from being born out of Elgar, have, as it were, regressed *into* him: their Elgarian characteristics represent a dilution of their once specifically "modern" tensions. In either case, Elgar's influence has entered the scene as a portent of relaxation.

We cannot, of course, measure Elgar's stature by the failings of others; and there is no rule that obliges the great composer to contain within him the seeds that flower in a succeeding generation. None the less, the remoteness, for our century, of Elgar's idiom, does stress his singular isolation as a composer. That he had no hand in forming the musical language of our own day, if no justification for our tendency to pass him by, memorial-wise, with hat raised, is one more factor that conditions a prevalent neglectful attitude: our present does not forcibly remind us of what Elgar has contributed to our past.

No sooner does one make a generalization than a qualification is entailed, and qualifications are legion when discussing a composer as enigmatic as Elgar. In two respects, without doubt, he foreshadowed a future that is our present. His sheer competence—his technical brio (so much part of his musical character!)—set a precedent in the orchestral sphere whose value we can begin to appreciate to-day: the impact may be a distant one, but Elgar's well-nigh singlehanded rescue of English music and the English musician from a slough of provincialism and insipid eclecticism echoes on in the highly professional accomplishments of the younger school of English composers. Then again his patent cosmopolitanism—once more a postponed influence—while reflecting his own time (more of this below) no less anticipates the widespread cosmopolitanism that is the distinguishing feature of present-day English music—a postponed influence, because the nationalist revival intervened. (It had to intervene, historically speaking, otherwise we should have had no national tradition from which, as now, to

diverge and evolve.) It was the eclectic Holst's misfortune to peddle a cosmopolitanism when it was a suspect practice. It was Elgar's misfortune, too, in so far as his style could provide the basis for no national school, a style, in addition, that was to be partly discredited by the twentieth century's revulsion from a typically nineteenth-century mode of utterance.

Small wonder that from this complex historical situation Elgar's reputation did not emerge altogether unimpaired. Nor, for that matter, did the reputations of his European colleagues, all of whom, especially, perhaps, Mahler and Strauss, found themselves with a foot in either century; but Mahler, in his late symphonies, Strauss intermittently (only at his best) and even Reger in his middle period succeeded, if I may change the metaphor mid-stream, in making themselves bi-lingual—at home, as it were, in either century—something that Elgar was never able to do. (It is valid, I think, to stick to comparisons with Austro-German contemporaries: no stretch of the imagination can relate Elgar to the new French school headed by Debussy. The influence of the Wagnerian Franck is, of course, altogether another story.)

I do not drag in Mahler, Strauss or Reger to disparage Elgar: indeed, if driven, I would place Elgar as a composer greater than two of these eminent contemporaries, judging him, moreover, as a European rather than an English artist. But a point of substance rests in, say, Mahler's capacity not only to accommodate himself to the twentieth century but to advance its cause. (Elgar's two Symphonies, as it happens, coincide chronologically with Mahler's last three and 'Das Lied von der Erde'.) It may well be asked: What is demonstrated by exposing the obvious enough differences between Mahler's style and Elgar's? (I choose Mahler, rather than Strauss, because of the mutual symphonic link.) The answer falls into two main parts that might be entitled "Convention" and "Tradition", both of which I believe, throw light on the nature of Elgar's achievement and the physiognomy of his art, while "Convention", in addition, raises the question of how English, idiomatically speaking, Elgar was.

Let me take this last point first. Elgar's success in Germany, Strauss's famous praise, Hans Richter's well-known judgment of the first Symphony (Richter, at this very time, had been dislodged by Mahler from the Vienna Opera: it is curious how the strands of musical history intertwine)—these eminently *European* appraisals confirm what was, in fact, the case: that Elgar's convention was thoroughly post-Wagnerian in character, English, in any stylistic sense, not at all.

It has, I must confess, always astonished me that Elgar has been so strenuously claimed as a representative English figure; he has never struck me as such, and were I, in a state of aural innocence, confronted with, say, the middle pair of movements from either of his symphonies and asked to guess the composer's country of origin, England, I fancy, would be the last place that I should light upon. I should recognize, I hope, the impress of a most powerful and original personality, evident in no end of unique mannerisms (Elgarian could be defined in a dictionary of music by the use of music examples alone), but I doubt whether the Englishness of it would have offered me a clue sufficiently pronounced to solve the question correctly. Is there not something of a paradox here? That the composer who became spokesman, in music, for a whole national era, was intimately bound up with a convention so wholeheartedly foreign? The paradox is all the more striking when one remembers how suspicious was the succeeding national school, prompted by Dr. Vaughan Williams in word and deed, of continental influences.

Elgar, as we know, aided and abetted by some tiresome friends, did everything possible to play, in life, the part of the Kiplingesque Englishman rather than the artist. The stiff upper lip only rarely quivered, and when it did—as in the extraordinary *folies de doute* that pursued him in connection with the Peyton Professorship—we catch a glimpse of a nervous, feminine, even neurotic sensibility that intermittently breaks out in the music. More so than with most great composers, Elgar the man and musician walked different paths. Perhaps his disinclination to expose his nerves, except under violent creative pressure, may be accounted an English characteristic—certainly this reticence marks him off from his European contemporaries. It also, to a degree, circumscribed the range of his feelings, and thus limited his expressiveness—some regions of feeling were taboo—and the potential versatility of his talent. But that emotional frigidity which is, perhaps, part of the English make-up, inherent or inculcated, was no part of Elgar's musical personality, as distinct from the face he wore in public. He was as frankly emotional as any late nineteenth-century composer in the great romantic tradition. His "vulgarity", in part an asset, I might add, speaks for itself as a manifestation of emotional liberation, though, as I shall attempt to show, Elgar was not in some respects liberated enough.

But if, as I believe, Elgar's English character is partly mythical, it is also partly musical, not, to be sure, in the character of his invention, but in its identification with a climate of national belief: there was, indeed, at wo-way identification, not only Elgar's convinced committal to what we may generally term "imperial"



topics (the 'Coronation Ode', 'Crown of India', 'Spirit of England' and the rest)—to this extent he was English of his period through and through—but the public's immediate and enthusiastic adoption of the music (Elgar in his pomp and circumstance guise) as the perfect vehicle for the mass expression of current national sentiment. Thus his not in any sense peculiarly English style was endowed with a fervent Englishness, an assertive patriotism, through what was, basically, the chance association of an eminently serviceable and sympathetic idiom with a dynamic social force. There was nothing, of course, essentially English in the power-sentiments of Edwardian imperialism, colonialism, etc.; any group, given a like historical context, would have expressed its power complex in similar terms and, at the same time, laid claim to those terms' uniqueness—hence their "superiority", which, in turn, confirms and promotes the group's self-confidence. Unfortunately, however, most group-behaviour is depressingly identical. Imagine (!) Germany as a nineteenth-century England. Would not Strauss have served as Elgar's twin, in more senses than one?

It is Elgar's occasional music that has dated—inevitably so, since the kind of social ideals with which it became inextricably involved have little validity for our own day. I believe, none the less, that the best of his occasional pieces will survive as more than mere historical documents, though the reason for their survival—the quality of their invention and strength of character (the best 'Pomp and Circumstance' marches, for example, are profoundly Elgarian, very much of a piece, despite their simplicity, with his major music)—hinders rather than facilitates a genuine revaluation of his status: in hearing (rightly) a precise relation between his major and minor works, we incorporate, to his detriment, the period feelings aroused by the latter into our response to the former. Thus Elgar's most important and complex works, however remote their social connotations, are coloured by—damaged by—a pre-determined attitude of mind on the part of the listener. We tend to hear—and condemn as "dated"—trends in his music that, by the standards of the convention within which he created, are wholly unexceptionable: it is the extra-musical significance they have been obliged to bear—their social symbolism—that obscures the issue, that prevents us from hearing the music, as it were, straight; and at the root of this confusion lies the muddling relation between his committed (minor) and non-committed (major) art, with our extra-musical response to the one infecting our approach to the other.

A similar act of transference results in our hearing an explicit voice of England embedded not only in the occasional music but



in the symphonies and concertos. 'Falstaff', perhaps, is a special case. But though I would not deny the penetration of Elgar's portrait, its manner of execution is cosmopolitan, or, more exactly, Straussian (more brilliant and original in its parts than a Strauss symphonic poem, I think, but as a big structure less successful than Strauss's best). If penetration of dramatic character were the test of national spirit, would not Verdi's 'Falstaff' be the most English of operas? There is not space here to pursue further the beguiling problem of Elgar's Englishness. It is my view that to find Elgar to-day specifically English in flavour is to expose oneself as the victim of a type of collective hallucination, an achievement, incidentally, that has had its consequences abroad. After all, Elgar has not always been considered a local genius: witness his early European successes, successes that preceded his popularity at home. Now, he is "not for export". Our conviction that he is a home-grown product has not only hoodwinked ourselves but those elsewhere, whose familiarity with this convention eased their early recognition of his outstanding talent.

I hope that my commentary on the very singularity of Elgar's reputation as an English composer will in itself have emphasized the cosmopolitanism of his convention—that despite what he called his "peremptorily" English name, his idiom evolved from a tradition that he summed up himself in letters dating from his visit to Leipzig in 1883: "I heard no end of stuff. Schumann principally and Wagner no end. They have a good opera in Leipzig and we went many times"; or, "... I got pretty well dosed with Schumann (my ideal!), Brahms, Rubinstein and Wagner, so had no cause to complain".

The derivation of a composer's convention is, of course, altogether of less importance than an analysis of what he makes of it. Elgar, there is no doubt, succeeded to a very intense degree in expressing his personality in music that is demonstrably his and his alone. On the other hand, his use of his chosen language, while minutely moulded to the contours of his personality, is not markedly original. (The distinction between originality of style and idiosyncrasy of idiom is a fine one, but I think it can be made.) But not only personal factors shape a composer's style, as important—perhaps overwhelmingly important—as these are: for instance, Elgar's emotional inhibitions, which, one day, must be subjected to full-scale examination. There are also historical considerations to be taken into account which, in his case, significantly conditioned the style.

Since Elgar's basic convention, his vocabulary, had so much in common with that of his European contemporaries, there is much

to be gained by a brief comparison of his work with theirs. The introduction of Strauss and Mahler clarifies the picture, illuminates Elgar's characteristics—and, I think, in isolating them, does something to explain why he wrote the kind of music he did. While his idiosyncrasies have been both recognized and analysed, the influence of his historical environment and the nature of the pressures exerted by personal factors have not. A complete understanding of his musical character, however, depends upon some understanding of the formative agents involved in the make-up of his personality.

Let us see where Elgar differs from Mahler or Strauss and attempt to nail down the reasons for the differences. For a start, Elgar's European colleagues were not only idiosyncratic in idiom but also original—original, that is, in the sense (my sense, when I use the word in this article) that each anticipated, practised and furthered the evolution of established twentieth-century procedures of composition: Strauss's and Mahler's inspired harmonic adventures, for instance, or Mahler's late contrapuntal style, a consequence of his tonal emancipation. Has anyone remarked upon the absence of counterpoint in Elgar's music, except on a few set occasions, in the 'Introduction and Allegro' or 'Gerontius' and particularly 'Falstaff'? It was a general feature of music at the turn of the century: counterpoint (Reger!) came in as tonality went out, the logic of parts prevailed as progressions lost their structural functions. That Elgar's music did not develop a genuinely linear contrapuntal character is symptomatic of his relatively low rate of harmonic tension: counterpoint, as it were, was not forced upon him by tonal disintegration. His greatest gift, on the other hand, his rich flow of melody, was promoted by—depended upon—his harmonic stability.

The temptation to pursue stylistic contrasts is acute, but I must resist it. I do not believe it would be difficult to demonstrate with a wealth of convincing detail that, say, Mahler's ninth Symphony (1908-10) was, in tendency, progressive, whereas Elgar's second (1910-11) was conservative, despite, let me repeat, a shared basic vocabulary. (I must stress that neither "progressive" nor "conservative" is intended as a value-judgment.) But I am assuming here the validity of that contention, so far as style alone is concerned; and it is my purpose not to show the how but the why.

Personal factors, of course, play a part. Extensions of style meet the expressive challenge of new feelings; new sounds symbolize the uncovering of hitherto untapped sources of inspiration. There were many new sounds in Strauss, generated by such exploratory pieces as 'Elektra' or 'Salome', many in Mahler, in his symphonies, which often present contents not previously encountered in music. It is

important, too, to remember that it is often just when a new nerve is exposed that the composer is charged with vulgarity. But every revelation of this kind provokes a like shocked resistance, not only in the field of music; and what is vulgar for one generation is accepted by succeeding generations as a valid enlargement of feeling or knowledge, though doubtless they ride "vulgar" hobby-horses of their own.

Elgar's conservative personality—self-imposed as I believe it was in part—did not mean that he felt less deeply, but rather that the range of his feelings was inhibited: he did not plunge into those new regions of feeling that might have forced his style to widen its scope. That there were uncharacteristic elements in Elgar that he sternly suppressed I have no doubt: the volcanic eruption in the second Symphony's scherzo-rondo has always suggested to me a side to Elgar's character the very opposite of his habitually affirmative self. What he wrote of his first Symphony—"a *massive* hope in the future"—holds true of much of his assertive music, but here and there, fleetingly, when the hope breaks down, one glimpses a massive if deeply buried anxiety. (I sense it again in that oddly sinister tableau, 'The Wagon Passes', from the 'Nursery Suite'.) It is difficult to speculate in this context, but it is my guess that had Elgar liberated himself from a host of protective emotional prohibitions and permitted his tensions to rise to the surface, he might well have responded with some out-of-character music that would have crossed the threshold of the new century in style, not chronology alone. As it was, Elgar lavished a maximum of unleashed feeling only in his most *nobilmente* mood; while his choice of occasion for a total liberation from restraint is revealing, the concentration of feeling released with such violence was all too often disproportionate and damagingly tasteless in effect. Elgar's feelings, in short, were sometimes bigger than the occasion demanded, either in the explicitly occasional music or in the implied drama of the symphonies (e.g., the *grandioso* conclusion of the first Symphony's finale). Hence Elgar's vulgarity is of a kind less functional than Mahler's or Strauss's (when on form); the searching, profoundly motivated feelings were there, but they became almost obsessively diverted into a narrow channel of "massive hope": protested so insistently, the security of that hope strikes one as perhaps more slenderly based than the affirmations would have us believe ("over-compensation", the psychologist might call it). Had Elgar's straining after nobility drained off less of his emotional energies, we might have heard more of the note of "heroic melancholy" that impressed W. B. Yeats in the incidental music to 'Grania and Diarmid', and more, perhaps, of a pessimism

that the emphatic optimism, one may think, seeks to conceal. But there can be no doubt that in one field—Elgar in his English *musical* context—the aggressively assertive character of his personality, its vulgarity in fact, aided him in the establishment of his unique voice.

It was, indeed, Elgar's vulgarity, the boldness and flashiness of his genius, that enabled him to break with the good taste of Parry, Stanford and the rest. Elgar, instead of revering the European classics and at the same time fearing them, instead of turning out page after page of tasteful but, in a final analysis, anonymous music, grasped the nettle with both hands: he accepted the late romantic convention, threw taste to the winds and succeeded in writing great music in established symphonic forms (he was no formal innovator) as full-blooded and pulsing with life as comparable gestures from Germany and Austria. It was a phenomenal achievement, the size of which must compel our continuing admiration. In a handful of big works Elgar challenged and, in some substantial respects, measured up to the accomplishments of Europe's great tradition. The size of his genius, of course, has something to do with the size of his achievement, but it is safe to say that his success would have been endangered had he not swept awe and taste aside and flourished without shame his, to put it rudely, creative "guts". Parry and Stanford—whose objectives, in the long run, were not so very different from Elgar's—were paralysed, bled white, by their fastidiousness. Elgar's "vulgarity" saved him from their fate and facilitated his confident approach to his monumental task. We are indebted to it. Miss McVeagh states the matter concisely: "Had he been more fastidious, he might well have been less great."<sup>2</sup>

Most of what I have written above, including my commentary on Elgar's Englishness, has centred upon convention, its derivation and the personal forces that went to mould it. I wrote earlier that tradition, too, must be taken into account. Part of the phenomenon of Elgar rests in the very absence of a native tradition from which he might have evolved (hence his dependence on a European convention): the tradition-less character of his achievement only emphasizes its singularity. The fact, moreover, that he did not emerge from a tradition increases our understanding of the make-up of his convention, especially its relative orthodoxy when compared with Mahler's or Strauss's. For it was not only personal factors that conditioned the latter composers' expansions of their convention, any more than it was personal factors alone that inhibited the development of Elgar's. History, too, exerts influential pressures.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

Mahler and Strauss lived at the end, the tail-end, of a great tradition: they inherited, in part, an exhausted convention. To develop new trends, new forms, new sounds, was an obligation: they had, in a very pressing sense, to originate, and originate hard, if they were to survive as independent voices. Elgar, on the other hand, was encumbered by no tradition. He could handle his more conventional convention with all the enthusiasm of an early starter; the convention simply had not aged for him as it had for his contemporaries in Europe. The oddity of his English situation spared him the necessity of composing, as it were, with history at his elbow. Free of the burden of a tradition, he was able, as an outsider—he owes England this much, at least—to employ a convention that had grown old elsewhere (and thus new!), at an earlier stage in its development; and the power and, indeed, originality of his musical personality charged his—from history's point of view—conventionalities with a conviction and spontaneity that will ride out any fluctuations in fashion.

What is generally accepted as an evil—the composer without a tradition—proved not to be so in Elgar's case; it is only in his chamber music that the absence of tradition is felt as a loss. A composer, I think, needs to be born out of an active chamber-musical tradition if, for example, he is to write a successful string quartet. Chamber music is a craft that has to be lived over a long period: it cannot be learned, as can orchestral technique, of which Elgar, of course, was a virtuoso master. It is a pity that downright amateurishness of texture mars his string Quartet and piano Quintet (the violin Sonata is both more inspired and accomplished); a double pity because, along with the magnificent cello Concerto, this group of chamber works—the classical challenge it represents is typical of Elgar's spirit—is the nearest we have to a late period. These works flounder badly, I fear, but they are deserving of study for their intermittent inspirations and their hints at the stylistic direction in which Elgar's art might have travelled had it not come to an abrupt stop. Whatever inhibition it was that here stifled Elgar's fertility, it cost us twenty years or so of potential music-making from a great English composer who, none the less, belongs in every best sense of the word to Europe: in that—his!—achievement should rest our pride.



## ELGAR IN HIS LETTERS

BY STANLEY BAYLISS

ELGAR has now joined the great whose private letters are collected and placed between book-covers for sale to a gaping public. No-one nowadays seems to question the propriety of this practice. The distinguished dead are allowed no privacy. If, as Thackeray did, an author or a composer makes it clear that he is averse to any official biography or publication of letters, and his relatives observe his wishes, then gossip whispers that there must be some awful secret.

Twenty-three years having passed since his death, there has been no indecent haste over Elgar's writings, although, in fact, some of his letters have already been published in various books, *e.g.*, Mrs. Powell's 'Memories of a Variation', Marjorie Ffrangcon-Davies's introduction to the republication of her father's 'The Singing of the Future', Goossens's 'Overture and Beginners' and the biographies of Basil Maine, Percy M. Young and Diana McVeagh. Readers of those volumes may have harboured a suspicion that Elgar's letters in bulk would provide tiresome or embarrassing reading on account of some facile facetiousness and crude punning. Elgar certainly wrote in the tradition of Hood and Marryat (has not someone said of 'Peter Simple' that it was the pun gone mad?); he liked coining new words, loved playing on old words and was always quick to note and appreciate neologisms and strange epithets in others.

On beginning to read Dr. Young's collection<sup>1</sup>, one does encounter too much that is trivial, but the letters gradually deepen in tone and substance, particularly those to Arthur Troyte Griffith and Frank Schuster. Thus, while these letters will not add to Elgar's stature in the way that publication of their letters enhanced the reputation of Keats or Gerard Manley Hopkins, they nevertheless contain sufficient wit and wisdom to make rewarding reading. They will underline what we already knew of Elgar rather than explain problems of his personality and music. Everyone knows, for example, that Elgar, particularly in his latter years, would disclaim all interest in music. Throughout this book there are similar disavowals. Sometimes they ring absolutely true, at others

<sup>1</sup> 'Letters of Edward Elgar and other Writings', selected, edited and annotated by Percy M. Young. pp. 371. (Bles, London, 1956, 42s.)



they appear to be cover against unwarranted attempts to break into his confidence.

The period between the "Enigma" Variations (1899) and 'Falstaff' (1913) must appear the high tide of Elgar's career. He was writing his masterpieces, securing performances of them, and was not without official recognition. Yet as early as 1904 he was writing to Schuster: "I am still very low and see nothing in the future but a black stone wall against which I am longing to dash my hand [? head] and that's all: a pitiful end for a 'promising' youth." Three years later, he writes to Walford Davies: "Sorry I depressed you: I will try to do better next time, only my future does not look *interesting*—and I dread that, poverty I am used to & hard work but it has always been interesting in the best sense: but now I see *nothing* ahead."

When one recalls the number of large-scale works that he packed into a period of under fifteen years, and realizes the intense emotional pressure under which he must often have lived and worked, one wonders whether these despairing expressions are but the inevitable reaction to overwork and stress. For, when the first Symphony was finished in 1908, he could write to Walford Davies in quite a different tone: "There is no programme beyond a wide experience of human life with a great charity (love) and a *massive* hope in the future."

It was noticeable that writers, in reviewing the recent biographies by Percy M. Young and Diana McVeagh, tended to deprecate Lady Elgar's influence on her husband, just as Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson came in for similar strictures. One reviewer considered that Elgar might have become a great composer in quite another way. This collection of letters, however, does suggest that unless Elgar had married Caroline Roberts, with her infinite faith in him, he would never have found the time or the spur to face the labour of his greater works. Reading the early letters, with their picture of the frantic life Elgar was leading as professional violinist, organist and teacher, one feels that a great change in his life had to come, if he was to become something more than a provincial writer of delightful instrumental *morceaux*. For instance, in 1883 he could write to C. W. Buck: "I get no time for composition now, altho' I have about finished my suite in my head if I could but get time to write it down. I found today a sketch of an Andante—vln., cello, pft.—for you. I may be able to finish it but I'm afraid that too must wait." When he wrote that, Elgar was twenty-six. Surely we cannot wonder that he was late in making full artistic stature.

When Lady Elgar died on 7 April 1920, he became a most

pathetic figure. Although she was older than he, he had not prepared himself for the probability that she must go first; and he had great difficulty in realizing or accepting the fact. It was not until 22 October 1921 that he could write to Troyte Griffith: "I have at last realized that my dear wife & beloved companion has left me: until about two months ago I always felt—subconsciously that she *must* return as of old—now I know & submit."

His state of mind is most fully shown in an undated letter to Sidney Colvin:

I hope you & Frances are well I am thinking very much of you in this county which is full of memories of a happy past—a past gone.—shattered. I am, & have been more than ever so during the last six months, a sad, sad man & not fit for company. I could not see you two dears—Kreisler came & I went out to see him but no more & I felt that I was no longer "in" the world, or rather, that the old artistic "striving" world exists for me no more; so my one short attempt at life was a failure. . . .

Inscrutable nature goes on just the same—young larks six, in a nest on the lawn & many other birds: nightingales sing; but I miss the little gentlest presence & I cannot go on.

And yet in January of the same year, apropos the death of Gervase Elwes, he could write objectively: "my personal loss is greater than I can bear to think upon but this is nothing—or I must call it so—compared to the general artistic loss—a gap impossible to fill—in the musical world."

Elgar was brought up a Roman Catholic (both his parents were converts) and 'The Dream of Gerontius' is there to show that at one time he must have been a man of absolute faith in his Church's teaching. But there is considerable questioning of religion throughout these letters. Besides his wife's death, Elgar was considerably shaken by the impact of the first world war. Both events may explain some of the scepticism of his later years, but even before 1914 there are sceptical questionings. On 26 March 1913 he wrote to Nicholas Kilburn, to whom 'The Music Makers' is dedicated:

Well, you talk mystically as becomes you & your northern atmosphere. I cannot follow you. I could have done a few years back—but the whole thing (no matter how one fights & avoids it) is merely commercial—this is forced into every fibre of me every moment. Not long ago one could occasionally shake this off & forget, but an all-foolish providence takes care that it shall not be unremembered for a moment & so—& so?? You say "we must look up"? To what? to whom? Why? The mind bold and independent, the purpose free must not think, must not hope—yet it seems sad that the only quotation I can find to fit my life comes from the Demons' chorus! a fanciful summing up!

That is almost complete despair. That he could think differently is shown by a sentence in the preface that he wrote, in 1930, for 'Forgotten Worcester' by his boyhood friend, Hubert Leicester. "In our old age, with our undimmed affection, the sun still seems to show us a golden 'beyond'."

He was undoubtedly a difficult man, but surprisingly generous to fellow-composers such as Walford Davies and Julius Harrison. His conduct when he discovered that Cyril Rootham had forestalled him in setting Binyon's 'For The Fallen' was admirable. He had, to my mind, unexpected likings. Fauré, for example, of whom he writes appreciatively and, in doing so, takes the opportunity of a dig at French insularity: "they are not interested in this frostbitten island", he writes. He is grateful for Parry's championship of the "Enigma" Variations and wishes to send him a copy of the printed score. Before doing so, however, he writes to make sure that he has not already got one: "but, (a poor man may not do anything gracefully) it has struck me that you may already have a copy & I hesitate to inflict another." Nor was he unappreciative of Parry as a composer: "Parry's new work 'A Vision of Life' is *fine* I should advise you to do that—the poem (his own & *sui generis*) is a splendid thing" (to Kilburn, 6.X.07).

At the end of his life Elgar was at work upon an opera, 'The Spanish Lady', based on a play of Ben Jonson's. For this he turned back to very early notebooks, and the dances and songs from it, published by Percy Young, do not suggest that we have lost a masterpiece, even though the setting of Jonson's 'Still to be neat' has haunting phrases. Elgar, in fact, toyed all his life with the idea of an opera. As Dr. Young puts it, it became a familiar game for his friends to suggest possible subjects to him. Binyon, for one, brought to his notice a Chinese legend. "Thank you very much", wrote Elgar, "for thinking of me in connection with the beautiful Chinese story. I feel however that I could not project myself into that milieu & could not feel music for it—although as you say it's distinctly a musical subject. This I feel but I feel it is not for my music." One is not surprised, knowing Elgar's music, that the operative word is "feel".

To another inquirer about a possible opera, Walford Davies, he wrote in 1919: "Oh! about the opera—I have never found a subject I cared about—I wanted something heroic and noble but I am only offered blood and lust in the way of libretti." That is surely the distinction between 'Fidelio' and most other operas.

As is well known, Shaw and Elgar became staunch friends. Early reference to Shaw in Elgar's letters, however, do not foreshadow that

friendship. Discussing 'Man and Superman', Elgar is hostile and draws a comparison as regards method that would, I think, occur to few:

Bernard Shaw is hopelessly wrong, as all these fellows are, on fundamental things:—amongst others they punch Xtianity & try to make it fit their civilization instead of making their civilization fit It. He is an amusing liar, but not much more & in it is a somewhat curious pt. that in the Don Juan scene he makes his characters "live in the remembrance" (in figure, age, etc.) just, or not just but very like Newman in Gerontius: Extremes meet sometimes.

Apropos 'The Devil's Disciple' he could write: "Shaw is very amateurish in many ways." On the other hand, that discussion piece, 'Getting Married', was "fine".

The composer of 'Cockaigne' also shows his contradictoriness in expressions of like and dislike of London. In 1886 it was: "I suppose the London air is a tonic to those born in it; I never could stand it long." Whereas, three years later: "London suits us extremely well."

It has been said that the best Londoners are those who have come into the Wen from the provinces, but Elgar was not one of them. He was born in the West, and the West Country called him until the end. During his last illness, in October 1933, he dictated a letter to Florence Norbury, in which he said:

I lie here hour after hour thinking of our beloved Teme—surely the most beautiful river that ever was and it belongs to you too—I love it more than any other—some day we will have a day together there—on it?

The Teme reminds one of Housman's 'Shropshire Lad' poems, never set to music by Elgar, although the mood of many of these letters often suggests that he would have found them congenial. But Elgar had no illusions as to his gifts as a song writer:

As to songs—I am not a song writer although a few of such things have achieved some popularity. My best songs are not sung for the reason that they require "*breath*"—the modern singers seem to emulate young terriers and prefer a staccato falsetto bark which is not pleasing to me—so I think you may safely avoid my productions (to W. Wooding Starmer, 12.VIII.21).

To Binyon, whose wartime poems had inspired Elgar, he wrote:

Many thanks for your letter—the poem's lovely but I am shy at setting English words—that is for songs; if anything could tempt me it wd. be your work but I refrain—for a space anyhow (14.I.20).

Binyon, remembering the success of their wartime collaboration, had earlier sent him a peace poem on 5 November 1918.

Yes [Elgar replied]. I recd. your letter from Riviera & awaited your return which I am glad is safely accomplished. I think your poem beautiful exceedingly—but I do not feel drawn to write peace music somehow—I thought long months ago that I could feel that way & if anything could draw me your poem would, but the whole atmosphere is too full of complexities for me to feel music to it: not the atmosphere of the poem but of the time I mean. The last two divisions VI and VII are splendid altho' I regret the appeal to the Heavenly Spirit which is cruelly obtuse to the individual sorrow & sacrifice—a cruelty I resent bitterly & disappointedly.

That may point to the main reason for his long silence until his death. He lived long enough to see the advent of the Nazis, which brought forth an anguished *cri de cœur* to Miss Schuster:

I am hoping that you have been able to enjoy the wonderful weather which has made the earth look like a promise of better things;—I fear not of better times though: I am in a maze regarding events in Germany—what are they doing? In this morning's paper it is said that the greatest conductor Bruno Walter &, stranger still, Einstein are ostracised: are we all mad? The Jews have always been my best & kindest friends—the pain of these news is unbearable & I do not know what it really means! (17.III.1933).

Dr. Young has selected the four hundred odd letters in this book from a total of more than two thousand. He has displayed them splendidly, and his connecting links are admirable. Perhaps the only criticism of his editorial method is that he has not put Elgar's letters in their proper order with the letters from Shaw, which are in a separate appendix. When Shaw's letters are collected, in volumes which must outnumber those in which Sir Herbert Grierson enshrined Sir Walter Scott's, what an argosy will sail into our libraries!

As regards Elgar, Bernard Shaw was a downright hero-worshipper, far removed from the author of 'Arms and the Man'. "I never heard Falstaff before", he wrote in 1921. "It's magnificent, and perfectly graphic to anyone who knows his Shakespear. All the other geniuses whom I venture to admire let me down one time or another; but you never fail." It takes an Irishman to write of an Englishman like that! Indeed, if his fellow-Englishmen could have been unrestrained in his praise, Elgar might have been a far happier man. Who can say? In his letters, as in his best-known orchestral work, he presents us with an enigma.

## GERALD FINZI (1901-1956)

BY HOWARD FERGUSON

FEW of Gerald Finzi's friends knew that he was suffering during the last five years of his life from a disease that was slowly killing him. He himself was well aware of this, for he had been told in 1951, when the diagnosis was made, that he had at the most ten more years to live. But characteristically he felt that if he was to carry on with his work, which was all-important to him, the fewer the people who knew of his illness the better.

I first met Finzi in 1926 at the house of R. O. Morris, with whom we both studied. Our second meeting, a few weeks later, was more significant. It took place just outside the Albert Hall, where Richard Strauss had been conducting a concert of his own works. The presence of the master should have guaranteed the solemnity of the occasion; but the high-light of the evening was undoubtedly one of the noisier climaxes of the 'Alpine Symphony', in which the thunder-machine (or was it the wind-machine?) toppled over and crashed unheard into the middle of the startled orchestra. As the audience left the hall Finzi and I cannoned into one another by chance, both of us helpless with laughter; and from that moment our friendship was sealed.

For the next eight or nine years, until he moved permanently into the country a year or so after his marriage, Finzi and I generally managed to meet about once a week, either at his home or at mine. We went through each other's compositions, talked, and made music ceaselessly. His curiosity about new or unfamiliar scores was insatiable and his energy boundless. Being the less fluent pianist of the two, he generally stationed himself at the extreme top of the keyboard and there played whatever vocal or instrumental part came his way, several octaves too high, rather loudly, and with a distinctly capricious sense of time-values. (He always vowed he had an excellent sense of rhythm, but that his fingers, alas, wouldn't do what his brain told them.) In this way we worked through vast quantities of music of every style and period: operas, songs, chamber music and symphonies—these last in more orthodox but scarcely less hectic piano-duet arrangements. Occasionally a piece of plain piano music was allowed by way of relaxation.

It should not be assumed that Finzi was at that time one-sided. Far from it. He was unusually widely read; and, large as his music



library was even then, there were many more books in the house than there was music. English poetry was probably his deepest interest. But unlike some composers, he did not read poetry merely to find something settable: he read it because he loved it. He had, however, strong feelings on the thorny problem of words-and-music. These were to be fully developed later in a series of three lectures given at the Royal College of Music in 1955; but his outlook at an earlier date is summed up in a letter written to me in December 1936:

I do hate the bilge and bunkum about composers trying to "add" to a poem; that a fine poem is complete in itself, and to set it is only to gild the lily, and so on. It's the sort of cliché which goes on being repeated (rather like the phrase "but art is above national boundaries"). I rather expected it [over the setting of the two Milton Sonnets] and expect it still more when the *Intimations* [of Immortality] is finished. But alas, composers can't rush into print, particularly where their own works are concerned—(though I do sometimes have a sneaking wish that editors would ask for one's opinion!). Obviously a poem may be unsatisfactory in itself for setting, but that is a purely musical consideration—that it has no architectural possibilities; no broad vowels where climaxes should be, and so on. But the first and last thing is that a composer is (presumably) moved by a poem and wishes to identify himself with it and share it. Whether he is moved by a good or a bad poem is beside the question. John [Herbert Sumsion] hit the nail on the head the other day when we were going through a dreadful biblical cantata, which X had sent him. . . . John said, "He chose his text, it didn't choose him". I don't think everyone realizes the difference between choosing a text and being chosen by one. (They should see Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author*.)

The reference in this letter of 1936 to his choral setting of *'Intimations of Immortality'*, which was not completed until 1950, is revealing. The composition of almost every one of Finzi's works was spread over a considerable number of years, for he always had in his desk the material of many "works in progress". Each of these would be added to from time to time, as the mood took him, until a large batch of sketches, generally quite discontinuous, was built up for a particular work. This work would then be taken in hand, the gaps filled in, and the sketches and alternatives reduced to a single continuous whole. In a letter of December 1934 he comments on an article by W. H. Reed, describing the growth of Elgar's violin Concerto, and gives unwittingly (or perhaps quite consciously) a picture of his own way of working:

That's essentially the method of a person whose work grows, on the principle of cutting the worm in half. . . . Naturally, if a work is satisfactory it doesn't matter two hoots how the end is arrived at,

but it's of great technical interest to see the way in which one work is *composed* with a clear-headed view from nearly the beginning and another work *grows* with the intellect in comparative abeyance; really a difference between conscious and more-or-less-un-conscious cerebration. Brahms' great intellectual qualities were held together by his emotional qualities; Elgar's emotional qualities were held together by his intellectual ones. But this is insultingly obvious! If you interrupted Brahms in the middle of a work it would have been at bar 72 (Stanford bar 172). With Elgar it would be loose sheets, alternatives, patches and so on.

The latter was Finzi's method. Sometimes the putting-together process would cause him immense difficulty, while at other times everything would fall into place with comparative ease. Writing was never a wholly easy or fluent business with him: even the most spontaneous-sounding song might have involved endless sketches and rough drafts, with sometimes a break of years between its opening and closing verses.

The habit of spreading the composition of a work over as much as twenty or twenty-five years was feasible only because Finzi's style (like Ravel's or Elgar's) changed comparatively little during his lifetime. Thus a movement, or part of a movement, written in the early 1930s could be absorbed with little alteration into a work completed in the 1950s. It is significant, however, that these earlier ideas were almost always slow and lyrical; and that the slow movements of Finzi's instrumental works were invariably written first. This was the characteristic mood of his music. But, as he himself said, a composer grows not only by developing his natural bent, but by reacting against; so it need not surprise us if his mastery of a more vigorous, extrovert type of music was a later manifestation.

His fondness, already mentioned, for keeping many works on the stocks accounts in part for his idiosyncratic use of opus numbers. (The numbers themselves can be found at the end of each work, printed in small Roman figures below the last bar.) In Finzi's own list of his compositions a number would be reserved for a work which only existed in the roughest of sketches, such as the projected string Trio, the original Op. 25, an offshoot of the published Prelude and Fugue for string trio, Op. 24; or for some revision of an early work which he planned but had not yet carried out. Thus there are now occasional blanks in the list; and the eight posthumous works all have opus numbers *earlier* than those of the last works published during his lifetime.

When first I knew Finzi he suffered from acute uncertainty over matters of detail in his own music: not only in choosing between several slightly different versions of a phrase, but in all questions of

articulation and dynamics. With the latter he tended to solve the difficulty by leaving out such indications altogether, until it was pointed out to him that this did not make the life of the performer any easier. He would then agree, rather reluctantly, to a *piano* here and a *forte* there, and an occasional slur to show the beginning and end of a phrase, adding under his breath that the performer, if he were any sort of a musician, would instinctively do it like that anyway.

His uncertainty over alternative notes remained with him till the end, though to a very much lesser degree. Problems of dynamics and phrasing began to vanish miraculously once he himself gained active experience of performance through conducting the Newbury String Players, the small, mainly amateur orchestra he founded at the beginning of the war. Another result of this new activity (though I doubt whether he himself realized the connection) was that he began to compose increasingly with particular instrumental colours in mind, instead of in abstract contrapuntal lines as he tended to do formerly. In consequence the orchestration of his music became for him a progressively simpler and quicker process.

Newbury String Players remained an important feature of his life. They were originally formed to fill the gap locally when all concert-giving stopped at the beginning of the war; thereafter they gave programmes of amazing variety and enterprise throughout the surrounding countryside, often in small villages that had never heard a live orchestra before. He wrote to me in January 1940:

I shall never make much of a conductor, but I'm glad the players want to carry on, as it's something to fill the terrible hollow feeling that the absence of music and music-making give me. . . . Anyhow, it'll all be useful if it ever again comes to conducting my own stuff. And in the meantime, until I'm called up, there's the pleasure of doing things like Parry's 'English Suite', Elgar's 'Serenade', Holst, Bach, Corelli and much else.

When his work at the Ministry of War Transport started in 1941 it left him neither time nor energy for composition. Nevertheless he kept his orchestra going, continually enlarging its repertory and exploring the little-known byways of string music. He found a new interest in the hitherto neglected English composers of the eighteenth century, in particular John Stanley; and he made scrupulous and scholarly editions of many of their works, including six of Stanley's Concertos for string orchestra and various works by Richard Mudge, John Garth, Charles Wesley and others, most of which have since been published. These he tried out in the first place with his orchestra and later performed at many of their concerts; and in this

way he managed to combine the two main musical interests that were left to him in wartime.

Altogether typical was his constant concern over composers whom he felt to be unfairly neglected, whether they were contemporary with him or of another age. He would never think of pushing his own work in any way whatever, but he took endless trouble to secure performance or publication of works by those who were not, as it seemed to him, receiving their due. There is little likelihood, for instance, that the volumes of Ivor Gurney's songs published by the Oxford University Press would have seen the light of day, had he not more or less forcibly extracted the manuscripts from the loving hands that guarded them, made the necessary fair copies, and himself seen to proof-correcting and the various other details of publication.

For one who could scarcely be called business-like about his own affairs, he was startlingly efficient when it came to the affairs of anyone who needed help. This unexpectedly practical side of his nature found scope after the war in work on various committees, such as the Berkshire Music Committee of which he was the first chairman. This kind of work was never congenial to him; but, since it had to be done, he did it with the utmost conscientiousness.

No reminiscence of Finzi, however short, could omit mention of the home life that meant so much to him. He and his wife Joyce, in whom he was so profoundly blessed, made with their two sons a rare and united family circle in that long, attractive house at Ashmansworth, overlooking a twenty-five mile stretch of country towards Winchester, which they built for themselves just before the war. The visitor's time was filled with music and with talk of music, books, or a hundred and one other topics. And if he grew tired of these, there were always the innumerable cats to be admired; the apple trees to be visited—nearly 400 varieties, many of them saved from extinction (occasionally well-merited) by Finzi's patient efforts; or a walk or drive in the country with a picnic lunch at the end of it. It was an enchanted and at the same time a wonderfully stimulating atmosphere.

Anyone who met Finzi personally will remember his bubbling sense of fun, his humour and his electric nervous energy. As I picture him in conversation he is always striding restlessly about the room, never seated at rest. Fewer will know that beneath this incisive, buoyant exterior lay a deep and fundamental pessimism. A hint of it was given by his extraordinary sympathy with the works of Thomas Hardy (he set some fifty of the poems during his lifetime); another by his haunted sense, apparent long before his last illness

and even before his mild attack of tuberculosis in 1927, that there would never be sufficient time for the completion of what he had it in him to write.

But at my back I alwaies hear  
Times winged Charriot hurrying near:

This thought ran constantly in his mind, like a ground-bass to his whole existence. So much so that it seemed to colour everything he did and give a peculiar intensity to everything he experienced.

It is a curiously Hardy-esque irony that Finzi should have died not from the mortal disease that had hung over him for five long years, but from an illness as seemingly innocuous as chicken-pox. Further, that he should have caught the infection in all likelihood while visiting a place he greatly loved: Churchdown Hill near Gloucester, which was always associated in his mind with the inception of 'In Terra Pax'. Because of an earlier operation the infection was more dangerous than ever he guessed. In a couple of weeks it had spread to his brain and killed him.

Those who heard him conduct 'In Terra Pax' in Gloucester Cathedral exactly three weeks before, on the evening of 6 September, will long treasure the memory. It was the first performance of the new version for full (instead of string) orchestra, the effect of which, with its added richness and intensity, was overwhelming. As always at the Three Choirs, Gerald was radiantly happy and revelled in the week's music-making and in meeting his friends. If he occasionally looked tired, he did not appear to be alarmingly so; and it certainly did not prevent him from enjoying the Festival to the full.

It is good to remember that he had this particular happiness so near the end. Those of us who knew and loved him have, too, our countless memories of his warm and wonderfully generous spirit. More important still—and this is as he would have wished it—his music remains as a memorial to which we can turn in lasting thankfulness, like Robert Bridges' hilltop watcher of 'In Terra Pax', on that frosty Christmas Eve,

Heark'ning in the aspect of th' eternal silence.

## LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY'S LUTE-BOOK

BY THURSTON DART

DURING the last twenty-five years a number of fine musical manuscripts have been added to the justly famed collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, but I doubt if any of them is more important than the one most recently acquired—Lord Herbert of Cherbury's lute-book. Like many other valuable music books, it was once in the collection of Edward Jones, harper to King George IV and a notable antiquary. It was sold by auction at Sotheby's rooms on 17 January 1956; the resources of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam, trebled by the great generosity of one anonymous benefactor, enabled the Museum to become its new owner. Such a volume has surely found the most appropriate of resting-places in a collection that already includes a magnificently bound book from the library of Dr. John Bull, as well as the most famous of all seventeenth-century manuscripts of English music—Francis Tregian's unsurpassed collection of virginal pieces, usually known as 'The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book'. The closing bid of £1,500 for Lord Herbert's lute-book may serve, indeed, as a reminder of an age when the treasures of English music were not considered particularly valuable. The 'Fitzwilliam Virginal Book' was presented to the founder of the Museum by Robert Bremner. Bremner had bought it in 1763, at the sale by auction of Dr. Pepusch's library, and the price he gave was—ten guineas.

To lovers of English literature and students of English history, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island, will need little introduction. To musicians his name may be less familiar. In his autobiography, first published in 1764 by Horace Walpole, he refers to "playing on the Lute, and singing according to the rules of the French masters" during his visit to Paris in 1608-9. The contents of the present book show that his love for the instrument and its music lasted until the closing years of his life. An excellent account of him appears in the 'Dictionary of National Biography', upon which the following outline has been based.

Born on 3 March 1582/3, Edward Herbert became a gentleman-commoner of University College, Oxford, in 1596. A year or two



afterwards he married Mary, daughter of Sir William Herbert, and he made his first appearance at court in 1600. Upon the accession of King James I he was made a Knight of the Bath—an early and undoubted indication of James's esteem for his young, charming, soldierly courtier—and he then spent some time at his castle in Montgomery.

During this time of living in the University and at home [he later wrote in his autobiography] I attained also to sing my part at first sight in Musick, and to play on the Lute with very little or almost no teaching . . . my learning of Musick was for this end that I might entertain myself at home, and altogether refresh my mind after my studies to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

He visited France for the first time in 1608, travelling with Aurelian Townsend, who was later to become the most honey-tongued of all Cavalier poets. The two young travellers returned in February 1609, understandably full of the high society in which they had moved during their stay. As Edward Herbert was later to write, with a self-esteem that begins to grate after one has read the first few pages of his 'Life':

Sometimes also I went to the Court of the French King, Henry the fourth . . . [and] sometimes also to the Court of Queen Margaret . . . and here I saw many Balls or Masks, in all which it pleased that Queen publickly to place me next to her Chair.

We may suppose that another pleasure-loving and frivolous queen, King James's Anne of Denmark, may have become fired with a new enthusiasm for these costly devices when she was told of them at first hand by this young and personable courtier.

Edward Herbert was soon (1610) on his travels again, this time as an officer in the army with Lord Chandos. In 1614 he joined the army of the Prince of Orange as a volunteer, later visiting the Rhine and the principal cities of Italy. In Rome he stayed in the English College, at Turin with the Duke of Savoy. Unlike some of his compatriots, however, he does not seem to have been drawn towards the skirts of the Roman church, for he is next encountered at the head of an army of four thousand Protestants marching from Languedoc to Piedmont to fight with the Savoyards against the Spaniards. After being nobly entertained in the Netherlands by the Prince of Orange on his way back to England, he returned to London early in 1617 and frequented a literary circle that included Ben Jonson, Carew and John Donne. In 1619 the all-powerful Duke of Buckingham offered him the post of ambassador to the French

court, and he left for Paris on 13 May of that year. In Paris he led an extravagant and romantic life; but after five years of its heady atmosphere he was ill-advised enough to oppose some of the clauses attached to the forthcoming marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria. King James was furious. He recalled Herbert to London at short notice, dismissing him from his embassy, and appears to have banished him to the wilds of Ireland. The Irish peerage of Castle Island conferred on Herbert at this time served only to inflame the sting of disgrace and to underline the shame of banishment. For four years he was out of royal favour. In 1628, however, he was permitted to return to Montgomery Castle, and a year later his pride must have been a little soothed by his elevation to an English peerage as Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In 1632 he asked for and was granted apartments at Richmond in order to begin his work on the life and times of King Henry VIII. In 1648 he died.

This sketch will have shown something of his unique position in the political and social scene of his time. The personal anthology of lute-music made by such a man could hardly fail to be of interest for its associations alone. An examination of the two hundred and forty-two pieces contained in his lute-book shows that in fact it ranks among the most important documents of its kind still in existence. No assessment of such a collection would have been possible without the help of David Lumsden's recent and comprehensive survey of the sources of English lute-music, and I am grateful to him for allowing me to refer freely to his work. His thematic catalogue shows that Lord Herbert's lute-book is the unique source for fourteen pieces by the English lutenists John Dowland, Robert Johnson, Philip Rosseter and Daniel Bachelor; it contains good texts of another eighteen pieces by English composers already known from other books; it includes unique copies of ten pieces composed by Lord Herbert himself; and it is the only English lute-book in existence enabling one to trace the decisive change of taste from the golden style of English lute music during the earlier part of King James's reign to the artificial French style and new tunings that were to triumph during the reign of his son. The book deserves to be published in its entirety—as a unique document of musical taste, as a relic of a great man of his time and as a collection of excellent music especially chosen by an enthusiastic amateur for his own pleasure. May one hope that the Cambridge University Press might be bold enough to undertake this? The Press has done great things for most present-day subjects of University study, but almost nothing for music.

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A complete inventory and thematic catalogue was made for me by Paul Johnson soon after the manuscript arrived at the Museum, and a few dozen transcriptions amply confirm one's good impression of the quality of the music. Since such an inventory properly belongs to an edition of the manuscript as a whole, it would be out of place to print it here; but a few notes on the manuscript, on some aspects of its contents, on the composers represented in it and its probable date would seem essential to this essay, which is the first notice of the manuscript to appear in print.

The volume still retains its contemporary binding of olive morocco leather, gilt, with panelled sides enclosing a wreath similar to that used on other books from Lord Herbert's library. The reverse of the second flyleaf is inscribed in the hand he used in about 1640:

The Lutebooke of Edward Lord Herbert, of Cherbury and Castle Island, containing diverse selected Lessons of excellent Authors in severall Cuntreys. Wherin also are some few of my owne Composition.  
E. Herbert

At the head of f.1 is a quotation from the second of Ovid's elegies written from his exile near the Black Sea:

*Diligitur nemo nisi cui fortuna secunda est.*

On the reverse of the final flyleaf appear two more Latin tags, this time lacking any indication of their origins:

*Virtus laudatur et alget.  
Fortuna<sup>m</sup> reverenter habe quicunq<sup>ue</sup> repente  
Dives ab exili progrediendi loco.<sup>1</sup>*

Ff. 1-51, 52-82' and 83'-90' contain music, ff. 51', 83 and 91-94' being blank. The music is written in French tablature for a six-course lute with diapasons, the diapasons being noted below the six-line stave. Rhythm-signs are in their usual position above the stave; but—somewhat less usually—mensural notes are used throughout, instead of the special symbols characteristic of most early lute music. In other sources this habit seems to denote a later date than their contents might at first lead one to expect. At the beginning of the book the classic tuning of the lute is used, but as the book progresses one or two less customary tunings are introduced. Several of the pieces appear to have been corrected or revised by Lord Herbert some years after they were first copied into the manuscript; these

<sup>1</sup> Mr. L. P. Wilkinson of King's College has helped me by identifying the first of these as a reminiscence of Juvenal, I, 74 ("Probitas laudatur et alget") and the second as from Ausonius (XIX., 2, 7-8). I am much indebted to him for his kindness. I should also like to thank Mr. Allen Percival for his help with the transcriptions.

corrections are in the blacker ink associated with the very last pieces in the book. Thirty-seven of the pieces are anonymous. Every piece save one appears to be for solo lute, and the volume contains no songs; one might have expected some from a man fortunate enough to count Jonson and Donne among his friends. Piece No. 125 is the first to make use of a marginal symbol (♣) the meaning of which is not yet apparent. It recurs from time to time during the remainder of the book.

Miss Phyllis M. Giles, Librarian of the Fitzwilliam Museum, has been good enough to give me her expert opinion on the binding of the manuscript, its make-up and the watermarks of its paper. I should like to record my gratitude to her for her prompt and courteous help on this occasion, as on many others, and for permission to quote from her letters to me:

The lute-book is a folio volume made up of sixteen quires of paper printed with ten six-line staves to the page. All the quires are of six leaves except quires 5 and 11, which are composed of five leaves only. Nothing seems to be missing from the text at these two points, and in quire 11 two sections of the music are written across the whole page opening where the gap would be expected to occur. (It is true that these two passages are in a different coloured ink). It therefore appears that the book was made up and bound before it was written in.

The paper used in these sixteen quires consists of forty-six sheets and two half-sheets of paper with the signed watermark of Jaques Lebé, a papermaker of Troyes, who died in 1616. Paper with his mark is found in use in France in the Midi as late as 1626, according to Briquet, and possibly later. There are two variants with his mark in the paper used in this book; both have a large letter B with his name on a scroll in one half of the sheet (*cf.* Briquet 8083) and the mark of a ship on the other half of the sheet. On some sheets the ship has two masts, on others three. These two variants frequently appear together in the same quire throughout the book.

The thinner paper used for pastedowns and flyleaves of the book has a different watermark, that of Edmon Denise, another papermaker of Troyes. A similar mark with his name (Briquet 5097) was in use from 1591. In 1600 he is mentioned in a legal document as associated in business with Jaques Lebé.

It appears likely that the whole book was put together and bound at the same time, and in France. The binding appears to me French in character and design. It is unlike the English bindings which were executed for Lord Herbert, and it resembles other French bindings in olive morocco with crossed palm branches, dated early in the seventeenth century. I have an illustration . . . of a similar design said to have been used by Georges Drobet on a book bound for Marie de Medicis, probably about 1611 or a little later.

Books of the kind described by Miss Giles were on sale at the

principal booksellers of almost any large city; the most probable shop for Herbert to have visited would have been the one owned by the Ballards, hereditary printers of music and music paper to the kings of France. Such volumes could be bound in accordance with the customer's wishes, or they could be bought ready bound in plain vellum or calf.

The pieces copied into the book fall into three well-defined groups, by far the greatest number of them being in Lord Herbert's own hand, using the same brownish ink. The first fifty pieces consist of preludes, fantasies, pavans, galliards and courantes by various composers whose music was at the height of its popularity during the first ten or fifteen years of the seventeenth century: Diomedes, Perrichon, Jacob, "Sr Danielli Inglesi", Antony Holborne, John Dowland, Bataille and others. This section ends with the longest piece in the book, a setting of 'La jeune fillette' by "Mr Daniel"; the group continues with another eighty-three pieces (Nos. 51-133) in a rather different taste: courantes, preludes and fantasies are the dominant forms, and most of the composers are from the continent. A blank page separates these pieces from those comprising group two: this group begins with a handful of pavans, galliards and other forms (Nos. 134-153), English composers being well represented. From No. 154 onwards the pattern changes once again: most of the pieces are courantes, preludes or voltes, and most of the composers are continental. At No. 223 a new name appears (Hely), and a new hand. A blank page marks the beginning of the last group of pieces. First a few by Jacob and Gaultier (Nos. 227-235), then five more by Hely (Nos. 236-40) and lastly two pavans (Nos. 241 and 242) composed by Lord Herbert himself.

The first piece in the book ('Prelude des Preludes par Sr Diomedes') is to be found in Bésard's huge and popular anthology, 'Thesaurus Harmonicus' (Cologne, 1603), at f. 4'. No. 30 ('Fantasia Lorenzino') occurs at f. 27' of the 'Thesaurus', and Nos. 48 ('Gagliarda') and 114 ('Fantasia Alphonso Ferrabosco') are simplified versions of pieces occurring on ff. 115 and 32 of the same collection. I have not yet been able to discover any further concordances either with the 'Thesaurus' or with such other widely circulating collections as those by Nicholas Vallet (Amsterdam, 1618-19), Fuhrmann and van den Hove; but the task of finding these concordances is very laborious and I have so far been able to make only a preliminary survey of the main printed sources.

A few words about the composers whose music is represented in the manuscript may help to set it in better perspective and to form some estimate of the date of its compilation. The composers are

listed in the order of their first occurrence in the manuscript, the number of the first piece by them being given in brackets after their names. For information about Belleville and Desponde I am indebted to my friends Mme. Nanie Bridgman and M. François Lesure; most of the information about the others has been derived from Lionel de La Laurencie's 'Les luthistes français', Michel Brenet's 'Notes sur l'histoire du luth en France' ('Rivista Musicale Italiana', 1898-99), François Lesure's 'La Facture instrumentale à Paris au seizième siècle' ('Galpin Society Journal', VII) and the preface to the French Musicological Society's edition of 'La Rhétorique des Dieux'.

#### SECTION 1, PART I: Nos. 1-63

"Diomedes" (No. 1): born at Venice in about 1570, he spent most of his life in the service of the kings of Poland and died some time after 1615. In Bésard's opinion he was one of the three Apollos of the lute, the others being Lorenzini of Rome and Charles Bocquet of Paris. Music by men such as these was eagerly sought after throughout Europe, but its life was not long.

"Perrichon" (No. 2) was dead by 1600; compare the 'Gaillard faite sur un volte du feu [Jean] Perrichon' which was printed as No. 15 of Francisque's 'Trésor d'Orphée', published in Paris in 1600. Perrichon appears to have worked in Paris throughout his life.

"Jacob" (No. 3) must surely be Jacob Reys of Poland (1545-1605). Contemporary documents tell how he "drew the soul from the lute" and "never played so well as when he was drunk". He lived and worked mostly in France, and some of his music may be found in the printed collections of Bésard, Fuhrmann and van den Hove.

"Sr Danielli Inglesi" (No. 6) is either John Danyel (c. 1565-c. 1630) or Daniel Bachelor, about whose life almost nothing is known. John Danyel is the more probable, since music by Bachelor appears later in the manuscript, ascribed to "D.B." or "Dan. Bach."

Holborne (No. 9), Dowland (No. 13) and Rosseter (No. 16) need no introduction. After 1620 or so their music fell from favour with increasing speed.

"Mr. Jeames" (No. 14: 'Gagliarda') seems to have written only one piece of music, for this galliard occurs in many different versions. Some sources ascribe it to "Mr. Dr. James of Christ Church", but there seems little doubt that it was in fact composed by James Harding, a member of the King's Musick from 1603 to 1625.

"Poulonois" (No. 17) would seem to stand for Jacob Reys of Poland; see "Jacob", above.



"Belleville" (No. 18) must be the Sieur de Belleville who died about 1647. He became famous as a choreographer and player of the mandora at the French court towards 1620.

"Desponde" or "Despont" (No. 22): one of a Parisian family of musicians. Robert, the eldest we can be concerned with here, was an instrument maker who flourished between 1573 and 1612. His son, Luc, was a lutenist in Paris between 1619 and 1634, became musician in ordinary to the French queen mother in about 1630, and died in 1636. Luc's brother, Pierre, was a lutenist in Paris between 1619 and 1634, became one of the king's musicians in 1621, and was subsequently Master of the Music to Queen Marguerite. The "Desponde" of Lord Herbert's lute-book is likely to have been Luc or perhaps Pierre.

"Battaille" (No. 24). This is the lutenist Gabriel Bataille (c. 1575-1630), Master of the Music to the French queen from 1617 onwards.

"Ballarde" (No. 25). This is presumably Robert Ballard, lutenist to Queen Marie de Medicis and teacher of the lute to the future Louis XIII.

"Lorenzino" (No. 30) and "Bocquet" (No. 31). Lorenzini was Bésard's teacher; he flourished between 1570 and 1600. "Bocquet" may denote Charles Bocquet or, more probably, his son Robert (fl. 1598-1626). The elder Bocquet and Lorenzini were the remaining two of Bésard's three Apollos.

"EHi" (No. 33: 'Courante'). This must surely be an abbreviation for E[dward] H[erbert]i. His other pieces are Nos. 132 and 133 (two virtually identical preludes), 183 ('Prelude H:'), 214 ("Courante of my owne composition at Montgomery Castle, Aug. 10, 1628"), 216 ("Pavan of my owne composition 3 Martij 16xx"—a birthday piece. The last two numerals have been erased, but ultraviolet light reveals remains of "19"), 225 ("Pavan of the composition of mee Edward Lord Herbert 1627 3to Martij; die scilicet natalitio"—another birthday piece), 241 ("Pavan of the Composition of mee Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island 1640"), 242 ("A Pavan composed by mee Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island; 1639") and 28 ("Pavan of my own composition 3 martij 1626 Herbert"). The last of these is yet another birthday piece, a later addition to the manuscript copied out of sequence at a place where there happened to be room for it.

"R. Jhonson" (No. 35) and "Daniel Bacheler" (No. 42). Two more English musicians who flourished during the earlier years of the seventeenth-century. Johnson (c. 1583-1633) wrote much masque music, including some of the earliest settings of lyrics by Shakespeare.

Bachelor was Groom of the Privy Chamber to Queen Anne, consort of James I, and seems to have flourished between 1600 and 1616.

#### SECTION 1, PART II: Nos. 64-133

"Saman" (No. 76). More usually spelt as Samain; he was a musician to Louis XIII.

"du Gast gentilome Provençal" (No. 78). He is so far unidentified, but is likely to have been a gentleman amateur at the Parisian court. His 'Fantasie' (No. 85) is the only piece in the whole manuscript to have an accompanying part in staff notation (tenor clef, no words).

"Gauthier" (No. 87). This is presumably Jacques Gaultier d'Angleterre, who left France in about 1617 after killing his opponent in a duel, came to England and was made much of by the Duke of Buckingham. A member of the King's Musick from 1619 to 1648, he was heard by Huygens upon his London visit in 1622; he became the most famous and influential lutenist of his time in all England. The possibility cannot be excluded that the pieces ascribed to "Gauthier" in the manuscript are by one or other of the Gaultiers who worked in France, Denis or Ennemond, for instance. But in view of the history of the manuscript, Jacques is more likely to have been their composer.

"Pietreson" (No. 88). This must be Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), the most eminent Dutch composer of his time. None of his lute music has been known hitherto. The next piece in the book is also by him; so are Nos. 179 and 186.

"Heart" (No. 104). This is probably Marin Heart (*fl.* 1598-1611), member of an important Parisian family of instrument makers and players.

"Angelica de Ballardi" (No. 110). Is this piece perhaps related to the 'Favorites d'Angélique' in Robert Ballard's exceedingly rare printed tablature of 1611? No copy of the book exists in England. Angélique [Paulet] was a Parisian lutenist, and the putative inventor of a simplified lute called the Angélique (see 'Galpin Society Journal', VII, p. 111).

"[Eustache] du Cauroy" (No. 111). Canon of the Sainte Chapelle and "Surintendant de la Musique du Roy" from 1599 onwards, Eustache du Cauroy was born in 1549 and died in 1609. He was an excellent composer of vocal and instrumental music.

"Alphonso Ferabosco" (No. 114). This is almost certainly the younger Alfonso, who died in 1628.

"Courante l'espine" (No. 131). Compare the 'Fantasye de

Maistre l'espine' in Vallet's 'Secret des Muses', book 2 (1619), p. 19. This reference shows that "l'espine" must be the name of a composer and not, as one might at first suppose, the title of a piece. No biographical details are available.

#### SECTION 2, PART I: Nos. 134-153

No new names occur, but the pieces are for the most part by English composers.

#### SECTION 2, PART II: Nos. 154-222

"Lanclos" (No. 170). This is the lutenist, father of the famous Ninon de l'Enclos. He fled from France in 1632 after killing the Baron de Chabans in a duel and died in 1649.

"Coperario" (No. 172). A unique example of lute music by Giovanni Coperario (John Cooper), the most italianate English composer of his time. He died in 1626.

"Cauallier du Luth" (No. 208). This is presumably Lorenzini, who had been honoured with the papal order of the Golden Spur.

#### SECTION 3, PART I: Nos. 223-226

[Cuthbert] Hely (No. 223). His unusual Christian name suggests that he may have come from near Durham. He perhaps belonged to the same family as Benjamin Hely, a late seventeenth-century violist, and Henry He(a)le, member of the King's Musick from 1682 until at least 1700, but I have been unable to discover anything about his life or work. A distinctive hand is used for his pieces, and the forms of the signatures suggest that the music was copied by the composer himself.

#### SECTION 3, PART II: Nos. 227-242

This begins with music by Jacob and Gaultier. Then come five more pieces by Hely, including one of the only two examples in the book of the newest fashionable dance, the "Sarebrand". The other example is also in this section. The section ends with two pavans by Lord Herbert, dated 1640 and 1639.

\* \* \* \*

So much for the composers represented in the manuscript. Their names can be a valuable guide towards answering questions about how and when the manuscript was compiled. The French paper and binding of the book would seem to associate its purchase with

one or other of Edward Herbert's visits to Paris (1608-9 and 1619-24). The motto from Ovid at the head of f. 1 is in the same hand and ink as the great majority of the pieces in the book. Its position of honour at the very beginning of the book suggests that it reflects the mood of the writer at the time when he began to copy out his repertory of lute music. Similar mottoes exist in other lute-books of the time. There is only one period of Lord Herbert's life to which Ovid's words readily apply, bearing in mind the source from which they are taken, and that is the period of his banishment in Ireland (1624-28). The quotation from Ausonius on the last flyleaf is in the same hand and similar ink; it would be especially appropriate to the end of this period of Lord Herbert's life, when he was recalled from living in one of the most poverty-stricken areas of the British Isles. That he felt his disgrace keenly is evident from a letter he wrote in 1634-5, referring to More and Bacon as "great personages" who pursued historical studies "in the time of their disgrace, when otherwise they were disabled to appear". It would seem sensible therefore to assume that he brought the blank book back with him from Paris, that he began to copy music into it in 1624 and that he had finished compiling the greater part of it by 1628. By August of that year he was back at Montgomery Castle (see No. 214: 'Pavan'. . . . "at Montgomery Castle Aug. 10 1628"). We need not look far for an analogous instance of a music-book's compilation as a sensitive man's solace in a time of adversity: Francis Tregian compiled the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book during his imprisonment in the Fleet between 1609 and 1619. Lord Herbert's own dated pieces have been copied into the manuscript in a rather haphazard order that does not correspond with the order in which they were composed:

No. 216	3 March 1619/20(?)
No. 28	3 March 1626/7
No. 225	3 March 1627/8
No. 214	10 August 1628
No. 242	1639
No. 241	1640

This unexpected circumstance suggests in its turn that the manuscript was intended as a fair copy of the repertory he particularly enjoyed playing, and that it may have been compiled from a collection of loose papers dating back to his first attempts at lute playing during the earliest years of the century. Once again there would seem to be a close analogy in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, which was almost undoubtedly put together in the same way from

loose papers belonging to Francis Tregian or brought to him by his friends. If this theory is correct, it would account for the strange variations in taste appearing between successive sections of the manuscript, despite the unity of handwriting and ink evident in the greater part of the book. In manuscripts of music blank pages are never without significance; from at least as early as the fifteenth century they were deliberately used to divide one section of music from another, and I am convinced that they are so used in Lord Herbert's book. In general it is true to say that the groups of pieces correspond closely with the various periods of his life, and I cannot believe that this is a mere coincidence. Thus Nos. 1-16 are typical of the English taste in lute music during the earliest years of the seventeenth century; Nos. 17-41 suggest Paris in 1608; Nos. 42-63—all save one of the named composers are English—suggest his return to England in 1609; Nos. 64-133, his years of wandering on the continent from 1610 to 1617; Nos. 134-153 (once again English composers are well represented) could suitably be associated with his stay in England between 1617 and 1619; Nos. 154-222 suggest Paris once again (1619-24). Hely's pieces begin at No. 223; after a blank page comes a small group by Jacob Reys—was Lord Herbert going through his early papers once again, after having copied out his first selection from them?—and 'Les Larmes de Gautier'—the only emotional title in the whole book; surely Lord Herbert was still feeling his disgrace at the time this was copied. The book ends with five more pieces by Hely and two by its compiler, dated 1639 and 1640; four blank pages suggest that after 1640 an ageing and disappointed man had little energy left for composing, in a world disintegrating into civil war.

These suggestions can be no more than hypothetical, but they would seem to account for most of the special features of the book. In summary, I would propose that Edward Herbert began to collect lute music from about 1600 until 1624, in loose sheets and working copies. His exile to Ireland gave him the leisure and incentive to make a fair copy of the best pieces from this collection, arranged more or less in the order in which he had learned them, and most of his manuscript lute-book was compiled between 1624 and 1628, as a cure for melancholy (compare Thomas Myriell's manuscript collection of vocal music, with its engraved title-page for each volume bearing the words 'Tristitiae Remedium' and the date 1616). With his old passion for the lute rekindled in this way, he began to try his hand at composing once again; his first attempt (No. 33) was perhaps made during his stay in Paris in 1608-9—note the unusually laconic signature, consisting only of initials—but three of his other

pieces are dated in the later 1620s. His first meeting with Hely perhaps took place in 1628, the year in which he was permitted to return from Ireland; Nos. 223 and 224 are by Hely, No. 225 is Lord Herbert's birthday piece for 1628 (dated 3 March 1627, Old Style). Hely was probably a professional lutenist, and his comments on Lord Herbert's self-taught technique may have prompted the alterations to some of the earliest pieces in the book; these alterations are in the blacker ink used for the pieces dated from 1628 onwards. Another visit by Hely must surely have been the occasion for his copying some of his newest pieces (Nos. 236-240) into Lord Herbert's book, perhaps after Lord Herbert had moved into apartments at Richmond in 1632. The repertory was now complete; the darkening political scene of the closing years of the 1630s may well have been responsible for Lord Herbert's choice of form for his last compositions, the passionate pavans of 1639 and 1640. During the greater part of the seventeenth century the pavan was considered the most solemn and eloquent of all musical forms, and named pavans (for instance, 'The Earl of Salisbury's Pavans' by William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons) seem to have commemorated the death of the personage whose name they bore. By 1640 Lord Herbert can hardly have helped feeling that the final curtain was closing on the scenes in which his life had been spent. It was time to lay aside his lute: "arbitre de l'amour, de la paix, de la guerre", as Abraham Bosse was to describe it on the frontispiece to *'La Rhétorique des Dieux'*, compiled in 1652—four years after the death of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Castle Island.



## BÉLA BARTÓK—SCHOLAR IN FOLK MUSIC

BY EDITH GERSON-KIWI

THE tenth anniversary of Béla Bartók's death in September 1955 produced a wealth of new literature around this universal genius. But very little is published on his great work in the field of folk music and musical ethnology carried out side by side with his creative work. He appears to have had the knowledge and insight to work simultaneously on different planes, excelling equally as composer, concert pianist, teacher, writer, multi-linguist, editor of pre-classical music and as a musicologist of international standing. At one time he would go abroad on a concert tour as pianist, at another he would set out on a recording expedition to do field-work among Hungarian, Rumanian, Slovak and even Turkish and Arab peasants.

Though it seems to be almost a truism to call attention to Bartók's rich grounding in his people's folk music and to his expert knowledge of its forms and meanings, the extent of research that produced this formidable fund of information is not generally known. It is not my present purpose to analyse Bartók's compositions in which folksong gained a renewed vitality in artistic settings, but I shall try to trace his "other self" in a short survey of his activities as a folk-music scholar—that part of him which gained him a world-wide reputation at a time when even the masterpieces among his compositions still had to struggle for so much as an ephemeral appeal. As if to aid him in his researches, nature had endowed him with a rare combination of creativeness and exactitude. Gifted with a highly analytical intellect, he had a passion for painstaking work on detail. This love of minutiae and of the scarcely audible phenomena in music as well as, on the other hand, of the most monumental and imposing forms, sprang from one and the same source. His passion for perfection was the same at orchestral rehearsals or recording sessions as it was when he deciphered a small peasant song.

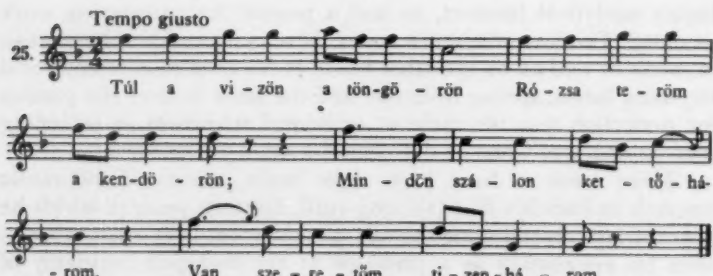
There seem to have been three main periods of folk-music research in Bartók's life: (1) 1904-1918, fourteen years in which he concentrated on collecting the vast materials; (2) 1935-1940, when—after his resignation as a professor at the Budapest Academy of Music—he became a working member of the Hungarian Academy of Science in order to prepare a comprehensive publication of the collected material, together with Zoltán Kodály, who had mean-

while initiated this edition; (3) 1941-1943, at Columbia University, which awarded him a Doctorate in Music and a grant for the study and publication of a huge collection of Yugoslav songs stored up there (Milman Parry Collection).

The starting-point for Bartók's folk-music research was a purely musical and creative one. Inspired by his colleague and friend Kodály he set out to find the truth behind the so-called Hungarian Gypsy music, made popular at that time by the settings of Brahms and Liszt.<sup>1</sup> Guided by his marvellous ear and by a strong sense of responsibility, he explored remote rural regions, living and working with peasants. There he soon discovered that Magyar song is a thing quite apart from Gypsy music, which turned out to be the cheap stuff of urban entertainment loosely strung together from the most heterogeneous elements. During many laborious expeditions he made (as did Kodály) an extensive phonographic survey, collecting personally no less than 2,721 Hungarian melodies and texts, first in the Hungarian-speaking countries and later in the neighbouring Slovak, Rumanian and Yugoslav territories, and finally in Turkey and Algiers, in order to elucidate the inter-relation of folk styles. The long series of monumental books written by Bartók at the peak-time of his creative work (see Selected List, p. 154), with thousands of transcriptions of phonographed melodies, will testify more than words can do to the immensity of his task as well as to his extraordinary gift of co-ordination.

The result of these labours is one of the greatest achievements in our times in the field of folk music: no less than complete reshuffling of the whole folk-music material of south-eastern Europe. First of all, true Hungarian folksong, with its two strata of an old and a new style, with its pentatonic formations of central Asian origin and with

Tempo giusto

25. 

Lövete (Udvarhely)

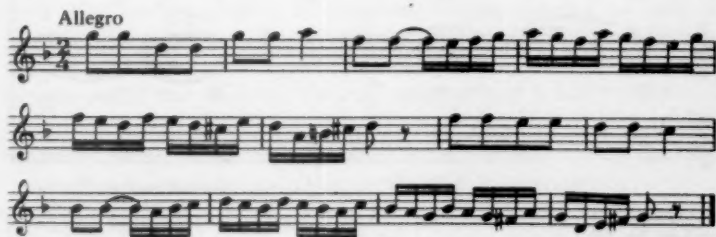
<sup>1</sup> See Serge Moreux, 'Béla Bartók' (Paris, 1955), p. 77.

its wide-ranged, descending, non-ornamental and isometric structures, was at last becoming clearly distinguishable. (See example on p. 150.)

Together with his rediscovery of autochthonous Magyar song Bartók succeeded in disentangling the complex of Balkan folk styles. Here, for centuries past, the ancient strata of old Slavic, Byzantine, Islamic and Romance civilizations had lain buried under newer ones from central Europe. The shifting of ethnic and linguistic groups and the overlapping of their political frontiers had led to an almost inextricable tangle of musical idioms.

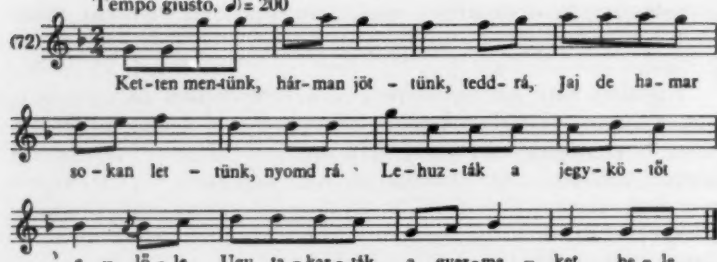
Bartók was not satisfied with mere collecting expeditions which included a lot of travelling in regions difficult of access ("behind the back of God"). What attracted him more than anything else was the analysis, the deciphering and notation, the classification and description of the material. Every phase of this analytical process involved him in observations of an almost infinitesimal exactness hitherto entirely unknown to folk-music research in Europe. The result was a setting of new standards and methods of research for ethno-musicology that helped to interest a younger group of musicologists, who now took over what had previously too often been left to incompetent enthusiasts who lacked the discipline required for such important discoveries. Thousands of painstaking comparative analyses must have preceded such simple statements as this: "The new Hungarian song exercised great influence on Slovak and Ruthenian peasant song, but hardly any on Rumanian", or this: "Out of 770 Hungarian songs only six tunes have an augmented second", or again this: "2,000 out of 3,450 Serbo-Croatian melodies have two or three stanzas (instead of four)".

To show the purity and factual truth of Bartók's notations it will be enough to put side by side the same melody as noted down by Liszt in his Hungarian Rhapsody No. 13 and as transcribed by Bartók:



Liszt Rhapsody No. 13

Tempo giusto, ♩ = 200

(72) 

Ket-ten men-tünk, hár-man jöt - tünk, tedd- rá, Jaj de ha-mar  
so - kan let - tünk, nyomd rá. Le-huz-ták a jegy-kö - tőt  
e - lő - le, Ugy ta - kar - ták a gyer-me - ket be - le.

Hungarian Folksong transcribed by Bartók

As for Bartók's exactitude in notation, which was "practically photographic",<sup>2</sup> it has been questioned whether it does not sometimes transgress the limits of our perceptive ability and quick imagination, especially in the narrow-ranged Serbo-Croatian women's songs of his last and truly astonishing book (List, No. 10; published posthumously). It may indeed serve as a "model of methods":

♩ = 92



V.1 ſ Si - ſā-na tra - vo-ho, si - ſā - na  
V.2 N Do svi - le - na, do svi -

Skeleton melody 



tra - - - vo ze - le - na,  
- le - - - na ča - do - ra,

Serbo-Croatian, No. 14.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> George Herzog, in his Foreword (p. XII) to Bartók's 'Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs' (see List, No. 10).

<sup>3</sup> By kind permission of the Columbia University Press.

It would demand a special study to trace the many conscious and unconscious channels through which the folk idiom found its way into Bartók's own music. There is no question that it is omnipresent, though in different degrees of perceptibility. Its range includes examples of simple harmonization (published without the "author's" name) to the most sublime transformation of melodic and rhythmic particles—as exemplified in his last and finest settings of folk melodies, the '44 Duos for two Violins' of 1931. With this basic folk material he built up a new musical grammar for the future and worked with it in complete creative freedom. In his article 'On the Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music' (List, No. 17) he reminds the composer that he has "to assimilate the idiom of peasant music so completely that he is able to forget all about it and use it as his musical mother tongue". Folk motives are not to be borrowed, but to be studied. "It is not enough to study them as stored up in museums. . . . [They] must be pervaded by the very atmosphere of peasant culture. Peasant motifs (or imitation of such motifs) will only lend our music some new ornaments: nothing more!" It is not enough "to transplant [folk-music] motifs into established musical forms" in order to start a new national music. . . . "Folk music will have an immense transforming influence on music in countries with little or no musical tradition" (*i.e.* art music).<sup>4</sup>

It was one of Bartók's personal secrets to combine the traditional continuity of folksong with the daring modern language of his own music in ever-new syntheses, and to work up gigantic climaxes with the help of a thousand minutely precise details.<sup>5</sup> His great legacy to the younger generation of composers is to have conveyed to them the definite possibility of a new alphabet, grammar and syntax for modern music, not contrived in a vacuum of speculation like the dodecaphonic system, but built up on the pre-alphabetical elements of a living folk language in song and dance.

Bartók's great legacy to musicologists<sup>6</sup> consists in demonstrating the amazing fact of the existence of an open frontier in Europe with the ancient Asiatic civilizations—Turcomanian as well as Islamic.<sup>7</sup> To what an extent the East had spread its roots right into the heart of Europe, in a give-and-take of endless variety, can only be grasped if one tries the difficult approach of a holy respect for even the smallest things on earth which guided Bartók through the darkness of tens of thousands of anonymous tunes.

<sup>4</sup> See 'Béla Bartók—A Memorial Review' (New York, 1950), p. 71ff.

<sup>5</sup> See E. Doflein, 'Béla Bartók' in 'Schweizerische Musikzeitung', X (1955), p. 373ff.

<sup>6</sup> See János Bartók, 'Béla Bartók: pionnier de la musicologie', in 'La Revue Musicale', No. 224, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> See A. Adnan Saygun, 'Bartók in Turkey', 'Musical Quarterly', 1951, p. 5ff.

## SELECTED LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON FOLK MUSIC BY BÉLA BARTÓK

A. *Published Works and Collections*

1. 'Chansons populaires roumaines du département de Bihar' (Bucharest, 1913) ... 371 tunes
2. 'Die Volksmusik der Araber von Biskra und Umgebung' ('Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft', 1920) ... c. 60 tunes
3. 'Transylvanian Folksongs' (Bartók & Kodály) (Budapest, 1923) ... 150 tunes
4. 'Die Volksmusik der Rumänen von Maramures' (Munich, 1923) ... 365 tunes
5. 'Hungarian Folk Music (London & Oxford, 1931) (1st ed., Budapest, 1924) ... 320 tunes
6. 'Slovak Folksongs: Slovenska Matica' (Turčiansky-Svätý-Martin, 1928-29) ... 2,600 tunes
7. 'La Musique populaire des Hongrois et des peuples voisins' ('Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis', Vol. II, Budapest, 1937, 1st ed., 1934) ... 127 tunes
8. 'Die Melodien der rumänischen Colinde' (Christmas Carols) (Vienna, 1935) ... 484 tunes
9. 'Pourquoi et comment recueille-t-on la musique populaire?' (trans. by Laszlo Lajtha, Geneva 1948) —
10. 'Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs' (with A. B. Lord). Foreword by George Herzog (From M. Parry Coll.) (New York, 1951) ... 75 tunes

B. *Unpublished Works*

11. Rumanian Folk Music, manuscript, 3 vols. ... 2,546 tunes
12. Turkish Folk Music from Asia Minor ... 89 tunes
13. Hungarian tunes, manuscript ... 2,721 tunes
14. Serbian Folksongs from Torontal and Temes ... 5 tunes

C. *Articles*

15. 'On Collecting Folksongs in Turkey' in: 'A Memorial Review' (New York, 1950).
16. Autobiography (*ibid.* and 'Tempo', 1948).
17. 'The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music' (*ibid.*, originally 'Melos', 1920).
18. 'La Musique hongroise'. ('Revue musicale', 1920).
19. Articles on Hungarian Folk Music, etc., in 'A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians' (London, 1924).
20. 'Rumanian Folk Music' ('Das Neue Musiklexikon' Einstein ed., 1926).
21. 'Gypsy Music or Hungarian Music?', ('Musical Quarterly', 1947; orig. 'Ethnographia', 1931).
22. 'Hungarian Peasant Music' ('Musical Quarterly', 1933).
23. 'Neue Ergebnisse der Volksliedforschung in Ungarn', ('Anbruch', 1932).
24. 'Folk Music and Folksong' (Népzene és népdalok); in French ('Acta Musicologica', 1937).
25. 'Folksong Research in Eastern Europe' ('Musical America', 1943).



## ENGLISH SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DIALOGUES

BY IAN SPINK

A NUMBER of charming dialogues are to be found in some of the English song-books published in the seventeenth century. The majority are of a pastoral nature, some are biblical, others elegiac. The reason for their popularity at that time was one of fashion, for pastoralism, because of its artificiality and remoteness, always seems to have delighted sophisticated societies, at some times more than at others, but especially in the hundred years following Tasso's *'Aminta'* (1573) and Guarini's *'Pastor fido'* (c. 1581). Both represented the culmination of a Renaissance tradition (which began in imitation of Virgil's *Eclogues* and through them of the *Bucolics* of Theocritus), inspiring Fletcher's *'Faithful Shepherdess'* (c. 1610) and Jonson's *'Sad Shepherd'* (up to 1637). And such works as Spenser's *'Shepherd's Calendar'* (1579) and Sidney's *'Arcadia'* (1590-98) immeasurably enriched the literature of the age of Elizabeth I, at the same time reflecting the direction in which cultivated minds turned for their diversion.<sup>1</sup>

Solo singing would seem essential to the dialogue, and it was usual. It may be traced throughout musical history; in liturgical, dramatic and poetic performance; in the *Passions* of Holy Week, or the *pastourelles* of Provence. But the contrapuntal techniques of the later sixteenth century precluded such treatment, instead of which the voices are divided into opposing choirs—high against low, perhaps—alternating and joining in chorus as the words of the dialogue demanded. Andrea Gabrieli adopts this method, for example, in *'Tirsi morir volea'*<sup>2</sup>, the seven voices being divided into two choirs which answer each other, joining midway and at the end in chorus. There is only one similar example among the English

<sup>1</sup> For the literary background see W. W. Greg's *'Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama'* (1906). Dr. Johnson expressed some of the attractions of such verse in a *'Rambler'* essay (XXXVI-II [1750]): "... It exhibits a life, to which we have always been accustomed to associate peace, and leisure, and innocence: and therefore we readily set open the heart, for the admission of its images, which contribute to drive away cares and perturbations, and suffer ourselves, without resistance, to be transported to elysian regions, where we are met with nothing but joy, and plenty, and contentment; where every gale whispers pleasure, and every shade promises repose."

<sup>2</sup> See A. Einstein's *'The Italian Madrigal'* (1949), Vol. II, p. 541, transcribed in Vol. III (63), p. 190. Also II, p. 544, and III (56), p. 155 *et passim*.

madrigals of the time (although an abstract antiphonal style was an established part of the technique of madrigal composition), and that a dialogue between Phyllis and Amintas at the end of Morley's 'First Booke of Balletts' (1595).<sup>3</sup> Here again the seven voices are separated into high and low. But this was an uneasy compromise between a poetic form which of its nature demanded solo treatment and the comparatively intractable medium of the polyphonic madrigal. After 1600 the lute-song provided a partial remedy in England, while in Italy at about the same time the invention of recitative and the development of the *concertato* madrigal ensured much more striking progress.

Between these choral dialogues of the late sixteenth century and those of the lutenists a transitional form flourished briefly. It was fundamentally polyphonic in character and in this respect may be considered even more conservative than the choral dialogue. Yet it reintroduced solo voices into the dialogue, which answered each other to an accompaniment of viols. Byrd's dialogue between two shepherds, 'Who made thee Hob forsake the plough?'<sup>4</sup> is of this kind. In it two solo voices sing alternate lines, while four instruments weave counterpoints in support. The basic texture is always polyphonic; instruments seem almost oblivious of the existence of singers, playing, as it were, their own fantasy simultaneously. The solos consist of short melodic phrases and the chorus is for voices and viols. Dowland's 'Second Booke of Songes or Ayres' (1600) and his 'Third and Last Booke' (1603) each contain a dialogue of the same design.<sup>5</sup>

Those published during the next twenty years were by the lutenists. They differed little from the ayres of the day, except that the tune was split between singers. For the most part they had about them a metrical lilt which as yet betrayed no influence of recitative. And although they form only a small and unremarkable appendix to the magnificent collections of lute-songs which appeared at this time, they did establish one of the two main types of dialogue—the dialogue-song, characterized by its melodiousness, regular alternation of voices by the line, couplet or verse, and consequently rather static effect. The 'Ayres That Were Sung And Played, at Brougham Castle . . . in the Kings Entertainment' (1618) by George Mason and John Earsden, contained two dialogues "Sung the First Night, the King being at Supper". Two voices alternate thus:

<sup>3</sup> 'The English Madrigal School,' Vol. IV (1913), ed. E. H. Fellowes.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XV (1920). William Byrd's 'Songes of sundrie natures,' XLI (1589), ed. E. H. Fellowes.

<sup>5</sup> 'Musica Britannica,' Vol. VI (1953): 'John Dowland: Ayres for Four Voices', tr. E. H. Fellowes, ed. T. Dart and N. Fortune, pp. 54, 79.

FIRST VOICE: Tune thy chearefull voyce to mine,  
Musicke helps digesting:

SECOND VOICE: Musicke is as good as wine,  
And as fit for feasting.

FIRST VOICE: Melodie now is needfull here,  
It will helpe to mend our cheare.

BOTH: Ioyne then, one ioy expressing . . .

Martin Peerson adopts the same method. His 'Private Musicke, or the First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues' (1620) includes a number of dialogues, none of which is actually called so, despite the title of the volume. Once again an airy style predominates: two trebles answering each other and joining at the end, to be echoed by the inevitable chorus.

The devotion of musicians to recitative towards the middle of the century, however, caused the dialogue-song to suffer a decline. The *recitative-dialogues* which follow are the antithesis: mildly or sometimes extremely dramatic and written mostly in what we may call "English declamation". Of the two forms they must be considered the more important, not only as a popular type of dramatic music which in some ways was analogous to the Italian cantata,<sup>6</sup> but as an experimental form in preparation for real opera, complementary to the masque. Thus a public—an informed public, one might even say—was created for Davenant's first operatic performances of 1656 and later.<sup>7</sup>

This taste for declamatory music was a result of Italian monodic influences, introduced into England by native musicians who had visited Italy, such as Walter Porter and Nicholas Lanier, or Anglo-Italians like the younger Ferrabosco. At first little impression was made upon the English madrigal. If susceptible to Italian influence, then it was to the suavity and colour of Marenzio, who "for delicious air and sweet invention in madrigals"<sup>8</sup> was preferred. His style and

<sup>6</sup> Pastoral subjects were even more common in Italy, and short pastoral scenes in operas, or interludes, are formal analogues of the English pastoral dialogue, though there is little or no functional parallel. And many early seventeenth-century Italian song-books contain pastoral dialogues, as a glance at Vogel's bibliography will show. In France similar works were included in the *ballets de cour*. Apart from opera some cantatas (free from the bonds of strophic variation from about 1640 onwards) became almost continuous recitative, while others were lavishly interspersed with arias. "A favourite method was to treat the subject as a declamatory scena, either narrative or dramatic, and break the monotony of it with a short aria, if one may call it so, recurring two or three times and thus forming a kind of ritornello". (E. J. Dent, 'Italian Chamber Cantatas', in 'Musical Antiquary', Vol. II [1911], p. 185.) The dialogue approximates to this description, but only superficially. Contrast of air and recitative is lacking by comparison, and the cantata was normally a much more extended affair, demanding a considerable degree of virtuosity from the singers.

<sup>7</sup> E. J. Dent, 'Foundations of English Opera' (1928), p. 52ff.

<sup>8</sup> H. Peacham, 'The Complete Gentleman' (1622), extract in O. Strunk, 'Source Readings in Music History' (1952), p. 335.

that of other Italians was well known through English versions of their works, and much praised.<sup>9</sup> To some extent the school of lutenist song-writers was under the same influence, especially its acknowledged leader John Dowland. Alfonso Ferrabosco's book of 'Ayres' (1609) differs rather from the general run of such collections and contains three dialogues, mostly consisting of amatory exchanges between nymph and shepherd—although it was not in this respect that it was unusual. The style was hardly that of recitative, but it demonstrated a number of important features: first, the dialogue principle, that of an asymmetrical alternation of voices according to the requirements of the poem; secondly, the chordal nature of the accompaniment, which, though still for lute, was more characteristic of a later *continuo* practice; and finally, declamatory rather than melodic rhythms associated with a sometimes violently disjunct vocal line. The following year Robert Dowland's 'Musically Banquet, Furnished with varietie of delicious Ayres, Collected out of the best Authors in English, French, Spanish and Italian' was printed. It contained two monodies by Caccini, one by Domenico Megli. In 1613 an immigrant Italian, Angelo Notari, had his collection entitled 'Prime musiche nuoue' engraved in London; among a variety of canzonets and virtuoso madrigals it included one, 'Così di ben amor', complete with string *sinfonia* and recitative passages. The masque 'Lovers made Men' (1617) "was sung (after the Italian manner), *Stylo recitativo*, by Master Nicholas Lanier; who ordered and made both the Scene and Musicke".<sup>10</sup> Another of the same year, 'The Vision of Delight', also contained the direction "*stylo recitativo*". The music of both is lost. Charles I sent Lanier to Italy "to buy capitall pictures", also to observe the music. "And after his returne he composed a recitative, w<sup>ch</sup> was a poem being y<sup>e</sup> tragedy of Hero & Leander, w<sup>ch</sup> for many years went about from hand to hand, even after the Restauration".<sup>11</sup> It is very long, purely monodic, and written entirely in recitative. In it the features which characterize English declamation are to be seen in embryo. Time and again in later examples it will be noticed that such music becomes more melodic as it approaches a cadence (usually at the close of a rhyming couplet) and that this cumulative transition from recitative to air is accompanied by a simultaneous impression of tightening tempo, occasional modulation and a more rapid movement of the bass. In the dialogue sense of action and the illusion of movement was created by alternating voices and of dramatic climax by the rapidity

<sup>9</sup> N. Younge, 'Musica Transalpina . . .' (1588). T. Watson, 'The first sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished . . .' (1590). T. Morley, 'Madrigals to fivie voyces . . .' (1598).

<sup>10</sup> Dent, *op. cit.* p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> R. North, 'The Musically Gramarian,' ed. H. Andrews (1925), p. 19.

of such alternations. Delineation of character was mainly a rather rudimentary matter of contrast of voices in pitch (most dialogues were for treble and bass), contrast of declamation (sustained or syllabic) or contrast of key between the end of one solo and the beginning of another. Augmented chords, false relations and ascending or descending semitones express aspects of grief and sorrow as they occur in the poem. Vocal ornamentation also fulfilled an important function, being most necessary to "the passion of the words".<sup>12</sup> The equilibrium of declamation and melody was affected by all these diverse tendencies; poetic form and content moulding the recitative into an idiomatic kind of speech-song which won the admiration of such poets as Milton and Dryden.

Practically all the dialogues set to music before the restoration were pastoral, in "which are heard the gentle whispers of chaste fondness, or the soft complaints of amorous impatience"<sup>13</sup>—impatience which, needless to say, was invariably satisfied. Herrick and Carew are the most frequent of the better poets represented in such works, while Shirley, Randolph and Lovelace make occasional appearances. These verses were set both for public and private enjoyment, as inclusion in the publications of Playford shows, and for incorporation into plays or masques, or masques within plays. For example, Shirley's dialogue between Strephon and Daphne, 'Come my Daphne, come away' (music by William Lawes in 'Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues', 1652 and later) was inserted, quite inconsequentially, into the last act of his tragedy 'The Cardinall' (1641), where its only purpose seems to have been to provide contrast, or relief perhaps, from the death and fates worse than death which surround it.

The only secular vocal music printed in England between 1632 and 1651 was an edition, now lost, of Porter's 'Madrigales' (1632) in 1639. These contained a few rather loose "dialogues", many passages in dialogue style and examples of the new recitative. No doubt the main cause of this famine was the turbulent condition of the realm, while a popular predilection for psalms and instrumental music absorbed what musical energy there was. But in the comparative stability of Cromwell's régime the industrious Playford began his long series of publications, the contents of which reveal a change in public taste from "madrigals and ayres" to "ayres (of a different sort) and dialogues".<sup>14</sup> These reached their culmination

<sup>12</sup> G. Caccini, 'Nuove musiche' (1602), quoted in Strunk, *op. cit.* p. 391.

<sup>13</sup> S. Johnson, 'The Rambler,' *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> An invaluable handbook dealing with details of editions, their contents, sources, numerous indices and cross references, etc., of Playford's publication, and others is C. Day & E. Murrie, 'English Song Books: 1651-1702' (1940).



almost immediately in the three books of 'Ayres and Dialogues' by Henry Lawes (1653-55-58) and in John Gamble's similarly entitled collections (1656-59). Further examples are to be found in 'Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues' (1652-53-59-69) and 'Choice Ayres, Songs & Dialogues' (1676). Many of these appear in British Museum Add. MS 11608, though in a slightly different form with profuse ornamentation. It is most likely that this book of songs, dialogues and some religious music antedates the printed versions, consisting as it does of works by musicians all of whom were active before the commonwealth, and containing some songs which can be dated from the second decade of the century.

There are eleven dialogues in this manuscript, John Hilton (the younger) and Nicholas Lanier being the best and most frequently represented composers. The three pastoral dialogues by Lanier, one of which has been published by Arnold Dolmetsch<sup>15</sup>, are typical of the form. The solos are of pleasantly varied length, with a refined expression befitting the subject. The ornaments are elegant rather than passionate, while there is even at this stage some differentiation between recitative and air. Lanier, the most italianate of his contemporaries, achieves a freer, more natural verbal rhythm by declaiming over a pedal bass, a device not so often employed in English recitative. In the more song-like parts bass and treble tend to move together. A notable feature of this and similar works is the well-directed sequence of modulation. The fundamental diatonicism of the harmony is seldom violated, except where the sense of the words justifies some licence. And these were rare occasions in the eminently civilized courtship of nymph and shepherd. A chorus inevitably concluded the dialogue, frequently in triple time. In later examples it occurred at several points; sometimes the music at each was the same, serving as a *ritornello*. This tended to increase strophic treatment at the expense of dramatic continuity, causing the form as a whole to revert to the dialogue-song; though in fact it made neither a satisfactory song nor a satisfactory duet. Apart from pastoral dialogues Add. MS 11608 also contains two dramatic accounts of 'The Meeting of Saul and the Witch of Endor' ('In guilty night') by Lanier and Robert Ramsey, which anticipate Purcell's famous setting by many years, as well as 'The Temptation of Job'<sup>16</sup> (with seven characters) and 'The Judgement of Solomon'

<sup>15</sup> A. Dolmetsch, 'Select English Songs and Dialogues of the 16th and 17th Centuries', Vol. I (1898), p. 28: 'I prithee keep my sheep for me'. But this is a simplified version from one of Playford's printed collections of 'Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues', 1652-3-9.

<sup>16</sup> See 'Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte' (1897), Berlin, pp. 121-34, by W. Nagel.



by John Hilton.<sup>17</sup> The same composer's interesting dramatic scena, 'The Judgement of Paris' ("Rise Princely Shepherd"), between Paris, Venus, Juno and Pallas is also included. The final choruses of these five larger works are longer and more polyphonic than is usual in the pastoral dialogues, and the style of recitative, though hardly melodic, is more sustained.

The contents of Playford's first publications probably represented a selection of secular music written over a period of years before 1650, the poetry being contemporary or earlier. Most of Henry Lawes's music existed only in manuscript at that time, for in his preface 'To all understanders and Lovers of Musick' (Ayres and Dialogues', 1653) he wrote: "And if this First Book shall find acceptance, I intend yearly to publish the like; for I confess I have sufficient Stock lying by me . . .". The year before a dialogue of his had been included in the first edition of 'Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues'. The second part of this book was described as 'The Second Booke Of Ayres, Containing Pastoral Dialogues For two Voyces, to sing either to the Theorbo, Harpsicon, or Basse Violl. . . . Composed by many Excellent Masters, now living'. It contained two by William Lawes, though he had died in 1645, two each by Lanier and Dr. Charles Coleman, and one by the pseudonymous Mr. Caesar, otherwise William Smegergill. Both Lanier's dialogues are simplified versions from Add. MS 11608, likewise one by William Lawes. Coleman's offerings were of a high standard; the well-figured bass, together with certain turns of phrase, foreshadows Henry Purcell. The second edition (1653) contained substantially the same works, except that Henry Lawes was omitted altogether. (He had a whole book to himself that year.) His brother and Mr. Caesar each contributed another. 'Tell me Shepherd' (Lanier) was added to the third edition (1659), which was otherwise the same as the second as far as dialogues were concerned. Six of the seven dialogues in the fourth edition (1669) had never been printed before, though all the composers included were now dead, except one, John Jenkins, who was almost eighty years of age.<sup>18</sup> Younger composers were less devoted to the form, of which the final stages of development are exhibited in this edition. Frequent choruses divide

<sup>17</sup> This type of dialogue may be considered as a development of the verse anthem. A list of anthems used at the Chapel Royal in and after 1635 includes a dialogue of 'The Prodigal Sonn' by Richard Portman, verses being sung successively by the prodigal son, his father, the elder son and the father again, with choruses after the first two verses. (Bodleian Library [MS Rawl. Poet 23], described in 'Musical Antiquary' Vol. II [1911], p. 108, 'The Chapel Royal Anthem Book of 1635'). The music is lost. Later MSS contain a dialogue between the devil, a dying man and an angel, by John Wilson (Add. MS 29396), and another on the same subject by Henry Blowman (Add. MS 30382).

<sup>18</sup> In Dolmetsch, *op. cit.* "Why sighs thou, Shepherd?", p. 32.

the dialogue into verses of equal length, which shepherd and nymph sing alternately. The solos are mainly melodic, or tend to be, with only remnants of recitative.

Henry Lawes's three books contain a variety of dialogues which illustrate these simplifying tendencies at their best; the glowing tributes of Milton and a dozen other poets were not undeserved. His recitative is in reality a sort of "unending melody"; his vocal line is eloquently shaped, and punctuated by rests in a unique manner, which may be the secret of his success. He excels at expressing a touching pathos, never better than in the final bars of 'As Celia rested in the Shade' (Book I). Such poise and such simplicity had been unequalled since Dowland, and even Purcell could not surpass him in this respect. Artistry apart, his dialogues differ little from those of his contemporaries.<sup>19</sup> In some examples the chorus returns again and again, as in 'Among thy fancies tell me this' (Book III), where it repeats five times. This, together with the predominantly airy style and the regular alternation of voices, constitutes a divergence from the recitative-dialogue proper. Two types may be distinguished at this point: (1) the irregular, the continuation of the recitative-dialogue which was still scenic in construction; development was dramatic and continuous, with elements of recitative, air, dialogue and chorus occurring as the action demanded; (2) the regular, a partial reversion to the dialogue-song, which was of strophic construction; verses of similar length (but different music) alternating between voices, often separated by the same chorus returning several times. The style was generally metrical and tuneful.

And so the last phase of development of this form is entered; a phase which, with a few exceptions, may be considered a decline—dating from about the time of the first English operatic ventures. It was not that opera had absorbed all musical energies, or that the market for dialogues was thus spoiled, for there was scarcely more real opera after 1660 than there had been before, and there were still amateur musicians to cater for in their homes. In fact, fashion had changed again. On the whole the public preferred airs which it might sing, whistle and hum, or to which it might beat time like its royal master. Playford reflects the change: 'Choice Ayres, Songs & Dialogues' (1676) contained only three dialogues, and in 1679 the collection was re-entitled 'Choice Ayres & Songs'. The series was advertised on the title-page, presumably by way of commendation as 'Being Most of the Newest Ayres, and Songs, Sung at Court, And at the Publick Theatres'. From then on most of the dialogues published

<sup>19</sup> Among whom may be mentioned Robert Smith and Simon Ives whose work appears published by Playford, and George Jeffries in B.M. Add. MS 10338 and elsewhere.

were merely extracts from stage entertainments, often extremely tedious and vulgar.

Matthew Locke's dialogues, though only a few in number, are very fine. 'Choice Ayres' (1675) contains two, one of which, 'When death shall part us', is a splendid example. It consists of three sections and a chorus, the first a free recitative in D minor, the second a triple-time air in the major leading into a passionate lament.

The pastoral dialogues of Blow and Purcell are larger and more sectionalized than those of Lanier and Lawes. Formally they belong to either one of the two groups described above, and they treat similar matter in a similar manner. Purcell's may be examined in his collected edition<sup>20</sup>; they break no new ground and are somewhat inferior examples of his art. They continue the process of sectionalization and are predominantly tuneful, though a few retain the recitative style. But the recitative-dialogue of the mid-century was to bear fruit, not in Purcell's or Blow's attempts at that form, but in their operas, 'Dido and Aeneas' and 'Venus and Adonis'. Each scene of one of these operas is in itself an extension of a typical dialogue, consisting of the same ingredients: recitative-conversation, air and chorus. This is not to claim descent of these operas from the dialogue at the expense of such works as 'Comus' or 'Cupid and Death', and the succession of masques (of which dialogues were often a part), but merely to reiterate the contribution of the earlier examples as a parallel development in the technique of conversing to music. Apart from this they constitute an attractive art form, deserving and capable of an independent appreciation.

<sup>20</sup> Purcell Society Edition, Vol. XXII (1922), ed. J. A. Fuller-Maitland.

## "LES SIX" AND JEAN COCTEAU

BY VERA RAŠIN

DURING the past thirty years much has been written about the "Groupe des Six"<sup>1</sup>, and the general tendency has been to underline the differences between the musicians who formed it. A time may now have come to study the links which temporarily joined these musicians and connected them with Jean Cocteau and Erik Satie—spiritual and social links as well as links of technique.

It has been argued that the title "Les Six", indicating the group of composers consisting of Georges Auric, Louis Durey, Arthur Honegger, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc and Germaine Tailleferre, was chosen quite arbitrarily by Henri Collet in the review 'Comœdia' (1920), in an article entitled 'Cinq Russes et six Français'. Milhaud, more than twenty years later in his autobiography, 'Notes without Music', dismisses the designation thus:

Quite arbitrarily, he [Collet] had chosen six names . . . merely because we knew one another, were good friends, and had figured on the same programmes; quite irrespective of our different temperaments and wholly dissimilar characters.

Yet Collet had more foundation for his choice of a group than Milhaud would have us believe. In 1917 Blaise Cendrars had conceived the idea of forming a group of artists who showed themselves to be most in sympathy with what Cocteau called the "odeur d'époque". In June 1917 the first concert was organized, the programme containing works by Satie, Auric, Durey and Honegger. Following this, Satie proposed the formation of a group of musicians. This group was known as "Les Nouveaux Jeunes": Durey, Auric, Honegger, G. Tailleferre and—after his return from Brazil in 1920—Milhaud.

To understand better the background of "Les Six" we must take note of the prevailing ideas and emotions in art in the years during and immediately after the 1914-18 war. A new attitude had arisen: a revolt against impressionism. There was a desire to return

<sup>1</sup> Useful information may be found in the following works: Edward Burlingame Hill, 'Modern French Music' (George Allen & Unwin, 1924); Paul Collaer, 'La Musique moderne' (Brussels, Elsevier, 1955); Martin Cooper, 'French Music, from the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré' (Oxford University Press, 1951); Darius Milhaud, 'Notes without Music', trans. Donald Evans, ed. Rollo H. Myers (Dennis Dobson, 1952); Rollo H. Myers, 'Erik Satie' (Dennis Dobson, 1948); Claude Rostand, 'La Musique française contemporaine' (Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

to firm outlines in art, a desire to strip it of the superfluous ornament with which they said it had become bedecked. Artists sought to express the everyday world with terseness and clarity, as Cocteau puts it in 'Le Coq et l'Arlequin':<sup>2</sup>

Un poète a toujours trop de mots dans son vocabulaire, un peintre trop de couleurs sur sa palette, un musicien trop de notes sur son clavier.

This spirit may be observed in the works of Picasso and Braque, the poems of Cocteau and Apollinaire, and the music of Satie. Perhaps the work best expressing the spirit of the times is Cocteau's ballet 'Parade' (written in 1915 and first performed at the Théâtre du Châtelet on 18 May 1917) with its décors and costumes by Picasso and its music by Satie.

The young artists met frequently to discuss the latest trends in the arts. Milhaud tells of the Saturday evening gatherings at his home and at a little restaurant in the Rue Blanche. Here were to be found not only the young composers of the "Groupe des Six", but performers such as Marcelle Meyer and Juliette Meerovitch, painters such as Marie Laurencin and Irène Lagut, and writers such as Lucien Daudet, Raymond Radiguet and Cocteau. Evening visits to the Foire de Montmartre or the Cirque Médrano would be rounded off by the musicians playing their latest compositions and the poets reading their most recent poems. "Out of these meetings", Milhaud tells us, "many a fruitful collaboration was to be born".<sup>3</sup>

The young musicians of the time found inspiration in the music of Erik Satie, and in 1918 Jean Cocteau provided them with their Bible, in the form of 'Le Coq et l'Arlequin'. This short work on æsthetics caused a great stir at the time, and Cocteau was hailed as the prophet of post-war music. The book certainly expresses many of the young composers' aims and ideals. They were united in their revolt against impressionism, with its shadowy outlines, its moonlight and roses, and its general unreality. As Cocteau expressed it in 'Le Coq et l'Arlequin':

Assez de nuages, de vagues, d'aquariums, d'ondines et de parfums de nuit; il nous faut une musique sur la terre, UNE MUSIQUE DE TOUS LES JOURS.<sup>4</sup>

For inspiration the young composers turned away from anything seemingly "poetic". As Cocteau was to repeat frequently in later years, between poetry and things poetic there is a great gulf. The

<sup>2</sup> In 'Le Rappel à l'ordre' (Stock, Paris, 1926), p. 21; first published by La Sirène, 1918.

<sup>3</sup> 'Notes without Music', p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> 'Le Rappel à l'ordre', p. 28.

young musicians turned to the wonders of the modern world—to the age of speed, the age of wonderful new machines. Milhaud (who composed 'Machines agricoles' in 1919) and Honegger (whose love of locomotives found its best expression in 'Pacific 231') in particular were fascinated by machines, and we find the symbolism of the machine recurring in the works of Cocteau.

It may be that France's nationalistic feelings after the 1914-18 war found expression in the revolt of the young musicians against the influence of Wagner and the Russian composers. The idiom of "Les Six" was Parisian—an idiom perhaps as foreign to the nation as a whole as Russian or German music. Yet in matters of technique it is agreed that they owe as great a debt to Stravinsky as the preceding generation had to Wagner.

Both Satie and Cocteau have expressed the anti-academic feeling current at the time. Satie divides musicians into "les pions et les poètes". The members of the group had a gaiety, a lightness of touch, which led to accusations of facility and lack of seriousness. In 'La Musique moderne' Paul Collaer tells us that someone once asked him if Honegger's 'Antigone' would be funny. A member of the audience confessed to finding Milhaud's 'L'Homme et son désir' "not so funny as all that." At the performance of Satie's 'Socrate' the public had laughed. In 1923 Cocteau was invited to join L'Académie de l'Humour.<sup>5</sup> Yet the surface gaiety masked much deeper feelings. Marcel Azaïs quotes Cocteau as saying:

On s'est trompé en voyant de l'humour dans mes œuvres. 'Le Potomak', 'Le Bœuf', 'Les Mariés', 'Parades' [*sic*] ne sont que drame, tristesse et poésie'.<sup>6</sup>

On the purely musical side the members of the "Groupe des Six" were linked by technique. They were inspired by their Saturday evening visits to the music-hall and the circus. They were fired with enthusiasm for the economy of movement they saw there—the necessity of each gesture of the acrobats and clowns. There was no superfluity, no ornament, only a wonderful purity. The composers found this purity echoed in the jazz and the popular songs of the day. Stripping their music of all ornamentation, they sought to free themselves from the influence of Debussy and Ravel.

Their reaction, too, against the preciosity of the Symbolists allowed them to approach composition boldly and without hesitation. They regarded it as an everyday job—a *métier*—not as just a matter of inspiration, a method of approach that shocked many people.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Marcel Azaïs, 'Le Chemin des gardies, essais critiques'. Preface by Lucien Dubech. (Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1926), p. 479.



The members of the group followed Satie's linear conception of music. Cocteau expresses this idea in 'Le Coq et l'Arlequin': "En musique la ligne c'est la mélodie. Le retour au dessin entraînera nécessairement un retour à la mélodie." This return to what was almost a form of classicism helped to guide French music out of the harmonic jungle of the past quarter-century. The works of the group were kept short and all pretentiousness was avoided. In their search for simplicity they turned to the tunes of popular songs, even to nursery rhymes. Their rhythms were either very simple indeed (2—4 or 4—4) or exceedingly complex. All that might appear to be deliberately graceful was avoided. Except in the case of Honegger their works were strongly tonal.

The activity of the group as such was limited. After their culminating group action (Cocteau's 'Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel', first performed at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on 18 June 1923) the composers began to drift apart. Durey had already left the group. Yet the causes of the break-up were personal quarrels rather than musical differences. Milhaud, Poulenc, Auric and Honegger had moved far away from the original aims of the group, identification with which had been an important stage in their musical development.

The "Groupe des Six", with the aid of Cocteau and Satie, provided a much-needed breath of fresh air in the stuffy, over-heated atmosphere of French music of the time. Contemporary music was brought more nearly into accord with the times and was given, in 'Le Coq et l'Arlequin', a clearly-expressed manifesto, which was to provoke a good deal of attention.

Perhaps I ought to add, for myself, with Cocteau:

Et maintenant je vous fais mes excuses. Je viens d'écrire sur la musique sans employer un seul terme de technicien. Prétendre qu'on ne peut parler musique si on ne connaît pas ses algèbres, c'est prétendre qu'on ne peut goûter la bonne chère sans savoir la cuisine, savoir la cuisine sans savoir la chimie, et ainsi de suite.<sup>8</sup>

#### COLLABORATION BETWEEN JEAN COCTEAU AND "LES SIX"<sup>9</sup>

##### I. Works for the Theatre and Cinema.

(i) With Georges Auric, Arthur Honegger, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc and Germaine Tailleferre (*not* Louis Durey):

<sup>7</sup> 'Le Rappel à l'ordre', p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> 'La Nouvelle Musique en France' ('Revue de Genève', No. 21, March 1922, p. 401).

<sup>9</sup> The order is alphabetical, since an exact dating of all the items has so far proved impossible. The main sources of information are: Louis Bonalumi, 'Bibliography of Works by Jean Cocteau', in Margaret Crosland, 'Jean Cocteau' (Peter Nevill, 1955); Sir George Grove, 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians', ed. E. Blom, 5th edition (Macmillan, 1954, 9 vols.), literary references to Cocteau, Vol. II, p. 361.

'Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel'. Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, 18 June 1923. (Information in current edition, N.R.F., 1928).

(ii) Jean Cocteau and Louis Laloy; with Georges Auric. 'Les Fâcheux', ballet in 1 act. Monte-Carlo, 19 Jan. 1924. (Bonalumi).

(iii) With Georges Auric. 'L'Aigle à deux têtes', film, 1948 (Grove).

(iv) With Georges Auric. 'L'Éternel retour', film, first shown in 1944. (Bonalumi).

(v) With Arthur Honegger. 'Antigone, tragédie lyrique,' 3 acts. Brussels, Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie, 28 Dec. 1927. (Paul Collaer, 'Arthur Honegger: Antigone'. Senart, 1928).

(vi) With Darius Milhaud. 'Le Bœuf sur le toit,' farce. Comédie des Champs-Élysées, 21 Feb. 1920. (Nicolas Slonimsky, 'Music since 1900'. Bonalumi gives the date incorrectly as 29 Feb. 1920.)

(vii) With Darius Milhaud. 'Le Pauvre Matelot, complainte en 3 actes'. Opéra-Comique, 12 Dec. 1927. (Grove).

(viii) With Darius Milhaud. 'Le Train bleu', ballet. Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, 20 June 1924. (Slonimsky).

(ix) With Francis Poulenc. 'Les Biches', ballet in 1 act. Monte-Carlo, 6 Jan. 1924. (Bonalumi, who erroneously gives Milhaud as composer.)

## II. Published Works by Jean Cocteau.<sup>10</sup>

(i) Jean Cocteau and Raymond Radiguet. 'Le Coq.' (Review containing articles by "Les Six"). No. 1 May 1920, No. 2 June 1920, No. 3 July-Aug.-Sept. 1920, No. 4 Nov. 1920. (Keith Goesch, 'Raymond Radiguet'. Paris-Geneva, La Palatine, 1955, pp. 174-75).

(ii) [Note on "Les Six"].

Printed on the programme of the first performance of works by "Les Six" in Brussels, at the Institut des Hautes Études, 20 Dec. 1920. This was the first performance of their works to be given outside France. (I am indebted to the Royal Academy of Music for their kindness in furnishing these details).

(iii) With Georges Auric, Arthur Honegger, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc and Germaine Tailleferre (not Louis Durey), 'Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel'. The text was first issued in 'Les Œuvres libres' (Fayard), No. 21, 1 March 1923. ('Biblio' and 'Livres de France', Oct. 1955). The text is different in several respects from that of the current edition. (N.R.F. 1928). There is also an edition of 1924 (N.R.F.) "avec un portrait de l'auteur par Jean V. Hugo". ('Biblio', Oct. 1948).

(iv) With Georges Auric. 'L'Éternel retour'. Nouvelles Editions Françaises, 1947. ('Biblio', Oct. 1948).

(v) With Georges Auric. 'Huit poèmes'. (Grove). Mr. Rollo H.

<sup>10</sup> It will be noted that it has been impossible to verify certain details about these works. I should be grateful to anyone who can supply me with further particulars.

Myers, to whom I am greatly indebted for much information and advice, suggests that they were published by *La Sirène*<sup>11</sup> in 1920, possibly in Cocteau's 'Poésies 1917-1920'.

(vi) With Georges Auric. 'L'Hymne au soleil'. About 1918. This work is mentioned in Grove, and I am grateful to Mr. Myers for his information about the probable date.

(vii) Jean Cocteau and Louis Laloy, with Georges Auric. 'Les Fâcheux', ballet in 1 act. "Avec un portrait de G. Auric par Jean Cocteau". Ed. des Quatre Chemins, 1924. (Bonalumi).

(viii) With Arthur Honegger. 'Six Poésies de Jean Cocteau'. 1. *Le Nègre*, 2. *Locutions*, 3. *Souvenirs d'enfance*, 4. *Ex-voto*, 5. *Une danseuse*, 6. *Madame*. 1920-1923. (Grove). All except the first of these appear in 'Poésies (1917-1920)', *La Sirène*.

(ix) With Darius Milhaud. 'Le Bœuf sur le toit', farce. 'La Sirène', 1920. (Grove). Bonalumi is in error in quoting 'Le Bœuf sur le toit' as having been published by *La Sirène Musicale*. *La Sirène Musicale* had already been amalgamated into *La Sirène* before the publication of 'Le Bœuf sur le toit'. (See note in Grove). This work also appears in Jean Cocteau, 'Théâtre de poche'. Morihien, 1949, pp. 13-19.

(x) With Darius Milhaud. 'Caramel mou. Vocal shimmy'. (Grove). Mr. Rollo H. Myers suggests that this was published by *La Sirène* in 1920.

(xi) With Darius Milhaud. 'Le Pauvre Matelot', *complainte en 3 actes*. Heugel, 1927. ('Biblio', Oct. 1955). Also in Jean Cocteau, 'Théâtre de poche', pp. 21-41.

(xii) With Darius Milhaud. 'Trois Poèmes. (i) *Fumée*, (ii) *Fête de Bordeaux*, (iii) *Fête de Montmartre*'. *La Sirène*, 1920. (Grove). The last-named of these three poems is contained in Jean Cocteau, 'Poésies (1917-1920)', *La Sirène*, 1920.

(xiii) With Francis Poulenc, 'Les Biches', ballet in 1 act. "Avec un portrait de Mme. Nijinska par Jean Cocteau". Ed. des Quatre Chemins, 1924. (Publisher and date given by Bonalumi, who wrongly attributes the music to Milhaud).

(xiv) With Francis Poulenc. 'Cocardes'. 1919. (Grove). This poem also occurs (p. 84) in Cocteau's 'Poésies (1917-1920)'.

(xv) With Francis Poulenc. 'Toréador, chanson hispano-italienne'. 1916-32. (Grove).

(xvi) Jean Cocteau and Raymond Radiguet, with Francis Poulenc. 'Le Gendarme incompris, critique bouffe'. Ed. de la Galerie Simon, 1921. (Bonalumi).

<sup>11</sup> The 'Dictionnaire biographique français contemporain', Pharos, 1950, Vol. I, p. 155, in its article on Cocteau, says that *La Sirène* was founded by Cocteau and Blaise Cendrars at the end of the 1914-18 war.

## TURNER AND MUSIC

BY ANN LAPRAIK LIVERMORE

By an accident of ownership the studio designed by Turner in the only house he built is now a music-room, and some visitors have suggested that this is incongruous. It comes as a surprise even to the more knowledgeable of these to learn that Turner was not only fond of music, so fond as to write poems—some of his best—about it, but that he also studied the principles of musical composition and played the flute. So far as I have been able to discover, this side of his life has never been discussed; it is therefore worth while to gather together the scattered evidence of his musical interest and to make it more generally accessible than it has hitherto been.

He had a cousin, Thomas Price Turner of Exeter, who was a Professor of Music, according to a family statement made after the painter's death. This relative first came to London in 1834 to take part as a chorus singer in the Royal Musical Festival Commemoration of Handel. He called on Turner, who said he had seen his name in the printed programme, but received a cool reception, and they never met again.

Evidently there was a musical thread in the family character, and it is worth noting that this Devon musician showed the same pride and sensitiveness as Turner himself, who in his youth had similarly called on a more affluent member of the family while travelling on one of his early sketching tours and had reacted in the same way to a cool reception.

In a study of Turner's verse-book<sup>1</sup> I concentrated on the poems dedicated to Thomson's Aeolian harp and the demolition of Pope's villa, to establish the fact that Thomson was a lifelong and decisive influence on Turner's life and work, and these verses were the chief clue to that search. The verse-book, however, begins with another poem which I set aside for an enquiry into Turner's musical knowledge, for its theme is 'The Loves of Painting and Music'. It was with this poem that Turner actually opened his verse-book-to-be. The theme is an involved, allegorical one, and he began it with high ambition; his reaction to allegory was always strong. It was never finished, but contains some good lines and a couplet or two which run with rhythmic ease; that he knew when he had got the rhythm

<sup>1</sup> 'Turner's Unknown Verse-book' ('Connoisseur Year Book,' 1957).

going smoothly we may be certain from the fact that he repeats one such couplet three times. And though this poem is incomplete, I believe that here, as in the Thomson specimens, the impulse to write verse welled up in him out of a strongly felt conviction to which due attention has never been given. As in his painting, he chose the best models of tradition when forming his style—such as Gray's 'Elegy', Pope's odes and, of course, Thomson, and the disparity between our knowledge of his work and our misunderstanding of the man makes the long indifference to this personal evidence almost criminal, considering what we owe to his concentration and industry.

Before dealing with his ideas about music as shown in his verses it is necessary to set down the more tangible evidence of his musical interest and active musical study.

After his death six books of music and "sundry ditto" were found among his personal effects; also a volume of Scots airs. In the sketch-books there is more musical evidence than is printed in the Inventory<sup>2</sup>. For example, this states that four pages in the Tabley sketch-book No. 2, of 1808, are ruled for music; but in fact two of these sheets are filled as follows: First, the mordent is written out. Second, a melody is set down in common time. Then the enharmonic scale is carefully written out from D $\sharp$  above middle C to higher F $\sharp$ , and underneath these he sets out the complementary chords. Curiously, and characteristically since he was a draughtsman, his lettering follows the musical notation in ascent with clarity and energy of movement.

The Inventory also states that the gamut for flute is set out in the Tabley sketch-book No. 3. In fact it is set out three times. Furthermore, after this, under the word "additional", he sets out a melody. This is omitted in the Inventory, as is the melody above.

These musical scripts date from 1808. Note that this was the time during which he was filling his verse-book, so that his poetic and musical studies went along together, and there is thus tangible proof that he was practising what he preached about combining music and painting and poetry.

But earlier than this, as the sketch-book for 1801 shows, he was already a serious music student, that is to say, not content with the tuneful level, he was also at work on structural bases. Here inside the cover he has set out the clefs for soprano, mezzo-soprano, alto, tenor and bass parts. Also the names of the space notes of the treble staff, then the divisions of time; semibreve, minim, crotchet, quaver, semiquaver and demi-semiquavers. Also again the ascending scale from E; then the signs of sharp, flat and natural.

<sup>2</sup> 'Complete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest' by A. J. Finberg (British Museum).



These signs are parallel to those of his versifying studies. Could he have applied his musical curiosity to his painting as we know now he applied his poetic knowledge? It is worth investigation.

His earliest recorded drawings of musical interest in the sketch-books date from about 1794; in the Marford Mill series there is a sketch of a woman playing a pipe. In 1800-2 there are sketches of other Welsh musicians: three of a harper, with dancers and spectators. Later there are sketches of men and women grouped about a player of a keyboard instrument.

The Swiss Figures Sketch-Book of 1802, which Ruskin disapprovingly condemned as "valueless", shows Turner in a gay mood, from the first water-colour of a "nude Swiss girl on bed, with a companion beside her; her gala costume scattered on floor in foreground", to the partly coloured pencil drawing of people marching in procession, under which is written "Men follow'd the Priests, Women the Men".

Musical evidence of a jolly mood comes unexpectedly at the end of this series, for at the back are written out the words of the song 'I am a Friar of Orders Grey'. If Turner sang this ditty, "and down the valley I take my way", at this time, it was some Swiss valley that heard him, and we may be fairly certain, from the fact that he spoke in a deep voice, that he sang it in a bass key.

In 1798, at twenty-three, Turner made a large pencil drawing, 'Interior of Covent Garden Theatre', from the gallery, with figures, its size being 9½ in. by 10½ in. Characteristically, he seizes the strategic point from which to gain the curve of auditorium, spectators, proscenium and ceiling. This deserves to be better known to musicians; though slight, it is valuable.

From his early engraved works, that of Fonhill of 1799 is to be noted, because it includes the figure of a man playing a flute and another man listening to him. Among all his drawings of English country-seats, here we have Beckford's house singled out for musical emphasis in the foreground and a direct record to show that Beckford was a musical dilettante who, as we know, was proud of his taste and knowledge.

More often, however, Turner's flute players are anonymous classical figures, as in Nos. 8 and 13 of the 'Liber Studiorum'. Pipers appear in modern scenes as well as old, with and without drums, though Turner's drummers have a more lowly part to play, as at Looe and Portsmouth, in times of warlike stirrings. Even so, there is great energy and precision in these detailed outlines, and it is worth while to compare such variations as the Mountebank selling Eau de Cologne, beating a drum, in the Holland, Meuse and Cologne



sketch-book, with the Gosport figure called 'Red Cart with a Barrow and Man Singing'.

The tambourine appears in the third 'Liber Studiorum': 'Woman with Tambourine'; it also appears in the scene of 'The Greek National Dance of the Romaika'. Some critics have called this study "doubtful", but it brings to mind the trouble Turner took when sketching in southern Italy to write down a description of a dance he witnessed. In the Naples, Paestum and Rome sketch-book of 1819 there is a scene on the coast (p. 70) to which Turner adds this:

Girls dancing to the Tabor or Tambourine. One plays, two dance face to face. If two women—a lewd dance and great gesticulation; when the men dance with the women a great coyness on his part till she can catch him idle and toss him up or out of time by her hip: then the laugh is against him by the crowd. Boy with Ring and Ball holds out cards. Man selling aqua vita by a handcard. Boy drawing it. Painted red and green and ornamented with a paper. Boys with dogs' meat or hawking Butchers with Tongues.

Turner's 'French Dancers in Sabots' is a better-known work. Our attention now is focused on the two musicians at one side of the drawing. This fiddler and drummer happily call to mind Turner's 'Plymouth Dock, seen from Mount Edgcumbe', for it was about the reproduction of this that he demanded of Cooke, the engraver: "Can you make the fiddle more distinct?", and drew a fiddle on the margin of the proof. This fiddler is a sailor with a wooden leg, and he flourishes his instrument with a jolly energy, as if to show that though he can no longer dance with the company he can still set the pace for their dancing and merry-making.

In 1830 Turner made a delightful drawing of 'A Barge with Military Band on Virginia Water'. The engraving of this should be better known to musicians: the earlier study of Virginia Water does not contain the barge and band, so that here we have one more example of Turner's eye for improving a situation.

Also in the Keepsake Album in which the Virginia Water music scene appears there is a view from San Miniato, where seated Florentine figures are drawn with musical instruments. An Abbotsford picnic vignette also contains groups of musicians. From Sir Walter Scott to the verse of Dr. Broadley is a drop into obscurity in more ways than one, since even Rawlinson says in writing of Turner's lovely series, which eventually appeared in the album 'Art and Song':

I cannot speak with certainty as to the history of these exquisite little plates. The tradition, dating back almost to Turner's time, has always been that they were originally commissioned to illustrate a

volume of poems by a certain Dr. Broadley, which were to be printed for private circulation. I can find no trace however of such a work, and I imagine that the project fell through. The steel plates appear to have remained unused until they were purchased by Messrs. Bell, and published in 1867 in 'Art and Song'.

Mrs. Finberg, however, has recently established that Dr. Broadley wrote the words for anthems by Spohr and Mendelssohn. But though his applications for various appointments contain testimonials to his proficiency in the theory of music and composition, he was no more successful as a musician than he was as a poet.

But, of course, Turner's Petworth series of the same year, 1830, are the best-known of his musical subjects, though not singled out for the musical evidence, because these interiors stir us with the excitement of new experiments in painting far beyond the tranquillizing bounds of the conventional conversation-piece. These studies are called 'A Solo on the Harp', 'The Musicians', 'The Spinnet Player', 'Library with Spinnet' and 'A Little Music; Evening'. It is not necessary to classify these in any order of merit, but musicians may find that 'A Solo on the Harp' in its composition, colour and the focus on the black-gowned harpist about whom the listeners form a broken circle of dream-indrawn etherealness, has a peculiarly pervasive suggestion of the hypnotic influence of music. 'Ludlow Castle—Rising of the Water Nymphs—Comus', done in 1835, gives Turner's own illustration of that mingling of the arts by Milton and Henry Lawes, to which he adds his own.

Returning now to the more obscure but more intimate recesses of his verse-making hours, we find one of the most attractive self-portraits ever made by an artist, unconscious and spontaneous. Again we turn to the year 1808 for his invocation to music to close the day with harmony and peace. This poem is even more sincerely breathed than his better-known invocation of the poetic muse, in which natural ambition has a small share, quite absent from his appeal to music. The poetic invocation was in any case meant for public reading as attached to a painting. The call to music is intimate and like a prayer:

#### VERSES TO MUSIC<sup>3</sup>

Scarce the dappled morn does rise  
But Music sweet ascends the skies  
The soaring Lark with fluttering wing  
Does sweet her early matins sing.

<sup>3</sup> From the Greenwich Sketch-Book, 1808.

With . . .<sup>4</sup> tones at Evening's hour  
 Sweet Philomel resumes her power  
 The echoing woods, the moonlight gleam  
 With silver radiance gilds the stream.

The darkened heath once gay with Green  
 The feathered songsters hail their Queen  
 Impassioned spread their spotted wings  
 And Love with Music's influence sings.

O calmly sweet inspiring power  
 Shine on my low but anxious bower  
 Lulled with harmonious melody to rest  
 Let not one angry moment wound my breast.

These were the years when Turner found harmony. His fulfilment as an artist was sure; his originality, his genius were acknowledged. Retracing the scenes of his childhood about the upper Thames between Brentford and Windsor he knew a tranquillity at this time which perhaps he was never entirely to realize for long again. It is in this period that we most purely perceive him, before the commercialism of caricature and cheap journalism in the Victorian age had singled him out for its first victim and for that distortion from which we have not yet taken the pains to rescue him.

That he regarded harmony as the highest attainment is shown in an anecdote—not, so far as I know, reprinted from a privately circulated memoir—in which in a company striving to prove by what quality Raphael most excelled his fellows, Turner capped them all by saying that Raphael was the great master of composition because of his sense of *harmony*, due to his power of keeping the rest of the picture in subjection to the principal part.

We are familiar nowadays with the interchangeability of art terms and techniques. Ever since the romantics began rushing in and out of one another's studios, collaborating sometimes, colliding often—from Berlioz, whose literary concepts we sometimes have to make use of to stop up the windy gaps in his musical rhetoric, to Ruskin and Pater—we have accepted the ideas of the arts as subdivisions of an æsthetic whole. But in Turner's youth this was still vague and not a practical consideration; thus the idea of his 'Loves of Painting and Music' is worth examination.

The romantic era aspired to the expression of experiences not yet recorded, so that words were inadequate, though this need pricked poets on to the search for wider, deeper terms and led to the remarkably broadening liberty of prose, which then got its freedom. The romantic morbidity also required a chromaticism of which

<sup>4</sup> An unreadable word.

language, by its logic, was denied an extreme use, but for which music was ready. The results are known to every musician. But Turner was the first painter to develop the modulatory sensibility in a parallel way. As musicians resorted to colour, so Turner explored the regions of key-relationships as one of his many bold and continuously expanding experiments, and his emancipation of painting is parallel in time to the break-through of music. It is a greater achievement in the sense that painting was tied up with naturalistic and representational inhibitions where music was wholly free.

There is a deeper level of consciousness in Turner's work, however, and this seems to well up from his sense of the pervasiveness of matter and experience—the interpenetration of one element by another. We gather hints of his ideas in his restatement of Goethe's 'Theory of Colour', for example. But the cumulative evidence of his preoccupation piles up in the wonderful paintings where he is drawn again and again to attempt a closer definition of fusions in every shape, as in clouds and mountains, the sources of streams high up in the mists of snow and the quivering rainbow, vibrating like notes of the scale, of dawn and moonlight studies continually rippling out from one half-tone into another, enharmonic explorations, one may suggest, emphasizing his hitherto unknown study of the enharmonic scale.

The enthusiast may still call these "dreamy" moods; in reality they are the signs of daring, resolute, acute, instant observation, determined on the solution of hitherto elusive technical problems; continental musicians were bent on the same discoveries. The more intelligent hearers of Turner's lectures asserted that he was not confused, as some critics said, but involved in such intricacies of investigation that mere linguistic terms could not express his thoughts. When he replied to a criticism that his painting was indistinct "indistinctiveness is my forte", he was, in fact, stressing his triumph over this challenge of interpenetration and the general pervasiveness of elements.

From this it will be perceived that eighteenth-century poetic, allegorical formulæ could reveal no more than hints of his ideas about the fusion of music and painting. That it was a concept which stirred him emotionally, implying an inner struggle towards realization, we may be certain from the fact that he tried to give it poetic substance as early as 1808. And it was *after* this time that his enharmonic experiments of fusion began.

At this point I should like to turn attention to his painting of that most peculiar instrument, the Aeolian harp, and to his own poem,

intended as a garland to his picture in memory of Thomson's poem. In my study of the influence of Thomson throughout Turner's life it was shown that the influence was marked especially on those themes which Thomson dealt with more than once and to which he added footnotes. Now the theme of the Aeolian harp has a poem, and a footnote, and then also a fuller description of its powers in the long allegorical poem 'The Castle of Indolence', which can scarcely be doubted now to have had a strangely vital effect upon the young painter.

Thomson's evocation of the harp's divinatory magnetism is obviously an enlargement of the Horatian text, which, by the way, Hugo Wolf puts at the head of his song-setting of Mörike's poem, 'An eine Aeolsharfe':

Tu semper urges flebilibus modis  
Mysten ademptum: nec tibi vespero  
Surgente decedunt amores  
Nec rapidum fugiente solem.

Whether Turner knew of this classical origin, I do not know, but it is probable, as the death inventory lists a volume of Horace in translation. But there can be no doubt, both from the painting and from his own verses on Thomson's Aeolian harp, that Turner had these lines of Thomson's and their speculative ruminations very deeply by heart. From this we deduce that he had a profound conviction of music's power and that his conception was not a shallow one. He seems to have perceived that, as colour is the reflection of light<sup>5</sup>, so the vibrations of music are the stuff of which life is made, and to have attempted his own nebulous metamorphosis of these vibrations of sympathetic concord.

Independently, originally, here in England there was an artist working in close though separated sympathy with those composers in Europe to whom we owe the great symphonic structures of his time. Curiously, his incessant travels throughout Europe took him again and again to the places where those composers lived and worked, from Mozart to Wagner. There is probably not a single place visited by Mozart for which we cannot find a sketch or drawing made by Turner, twenty years his junior. In fact, the only illustrator of an English version of Mozart's letters truly worthy of that honour is our own Turner and his work is there, in the British Museum, waiting the enterprise of another fusion of two arts.

Did he, like Thomson, believe that music had power to reach "above that of art"? And was it the ambition to add this power to

<sup>5</sup> See his statement of Goethe's 'Theory of Colour'.

his own art that led him on to experiments the results of which are still at work? Even now, a century and a half after his verses on poetry and music were written, the force and projection of his ambition is not fully comprehended; his determination to excel as a poet and to give poetry a foremost place in his work is proof of his will-power and stubbornness in achieving those concepts in spite of the jeerings which some of his attempts provoked.

The efforts of writers to enhance their style by adding the technique of writing to rules of musical rhythms and tone are common enough, but Turner was perhaps the first to achieve so consistently the potentiality of music in a strictly pictorial as opposed to a strictly literary sense. The influence of Thomson's poetry was to strengthen the hold of the past upon his choice of subject-matter—though following in Thomson's steps in search of nature he evolved the landscape art for which he is primarily famous. But the newer, revolutionary concept on which his later work is based—not a break-down, as some have called it, but a break-through to the fundamentals of colour structures—may owe something to the musical study made at the time he was studying the structures of verse; a time, we know now, when his concepts were shaping his future schemes of work. The fact that his verses lagged behind his painting in workmanship has obscured the significance of his early love of poetry. So, beginning with his idea of the fusion of painting and music, and taking this scattered evidence into consideration of such an end in view, it may be conceded that here again Turner knew well enough what he was doing and whither he was going, too.

There is direct proof of his having studied to improve his prose and poetry by the application of what he called the "musical orders", showing in this phrase his awareness of a parallel between architecture and music, by the way. In some notes in Sketch-Book CVI on modulation and harmony he says that a musical close requires either the last syllable or the last but one to be a long syllable and also states that words of short syllables produce slow motion. This was in 1807.

The poem 'The Loves of Painting and Music' suggests a solution to another problem—the reason for the secrecy with which he always worked and which was resented by some of his colleagues. He certainly succeeded in mystifying his contemporaries as he, I believe, deliberately intended. The lines he repeated three times are as follows:

As snails trail o'er the morning dew  
He thus the line of Beauty drew.



Now "the line of Beauty", as well as other phrases less directly linked, shows that Turner was studying Hogarth's 'Analysis of Beauty', and in this famous treatise by Hogarth there is a possible clue to Turner's secrecy. So far as I know this influence on Turner has never been remarked. When making these musical exercises he also noted down a passage from Lamozi about the secrecy with which the Egyptians reserved their hidden knowledge. . . . "From whom we have received benefit as well as Philosophy and Astrologie, by Plato, by Pythagoras". Turner writes this down but does not give Lamozi as the author; nor does he cite Hogarth, who quotes it in that part of 'The Analysis of Beauty' where he tells of "the secrecy of the Greeks, from whom the Romans never learned it, in spite of all the works and artists they gathered from Greece for their own instruction". But farther on, in Sketch-Book CVIII (1809), Turner mentions Lamozi by name as relating Light . . . "to emanation of Deity". He then gives Lamozi's definition of perspective. All these cogitations went on at the same time as his musical enquiries. His secrecy about the influence of Thomson may thus be traced together with his silence about the effect of working according to the "musical orders" in his colour-planes, in the first place directly to Hogarth, and beyond Hogarth, by the curiosity and originality of his own mind, to the "hidden mysteries" of the classical world.

## MEDIEVAL MUSIC ON THE GRAMOPHONE

BY GILBERT REANEY

It is a shock to anyone who does not believe music was invented around the year 1500 to find how little medieval music is available on gramophone records. At least it would be a shock if one were not aware of the difficulties of "selling" this music. It has few of the features which appeal to most buyers. Its harmonic language is on the surface elementary, its melodic lines are sensuous but impersonal, its rhythms too complex and unfamiliar. The modern record-buyer is not impressed by three-part motets but by works for full orchestra and a full complement of virtuoso performers and conductors. At all events this would seem to be the case, though a recent survey points out that so-called esoteric records are most in demand at the public libraries. The simple facts however are that medieval music can be of great beauty, and, to the listener willing to abandon unworthy considerations, it can be a revelation. If art thrives on its limitations, this is certainly true of medieval music. Plainsong can only exist as monody, for even the addition of one extra melodic line would kill its effortless flow. Stepwise movement is the basis of medieval melody and the result is a structure of great strength and integrity. Harmony may seem hollow and unsystematic but, once the unfamiliarity is overcome, its consonances appear purer than classical ones and its dissonances most piquant. And the complexity of medieval rhythms should be a warning to those who think this music is undeveloped.

The result of the gramophone companies' unwillingness to record medieval music as a regular thing is that most of these records appear in large sets of general educational interest, histories of music on discs. This is the case with the Gramophone Company's 'History of Music in Sound', the French 'Anthologie sonore' and the German 'Archive' series. Rather more antiquated are the German series 'Two Thousand Years of Music' and the English 'Columbia History of Music'. Smaller companies like Lumen in France and the French-based Lyre-Bird (*Oiseau-lyre*) group have done their best to encourage interest in medieval music. It remains true to say that for the English listener very little is immediately available on records. Owing to the still recent changeover from 78 r.p.m. to LP, the paucity of material is accentuated. Of the two recent collections, 'History of Music in Sound' and 'Archive', both of which are still incomplete, the English series is recorded on 78s. From a commercial

point of view LPs are certainly of most value, but the amount of fiddling necessary to find the right place on an LP side containing ten or more relatively short pieces should not be minimized. Another factor entering into a comparison between 78s and LPs seems to have passed unseen. Evidently a historical collection will be something of an anthology. The space needed to record a piece on 78s generally precludes the recording of more than one work per side (though admittedly certain short medieval pieces can be accommodated in a third to a quarter of that space). This means that, whereas on 78s only one example of a certain type of composition or a particular composer can often be given, with LPs a more comprehensive collection can be provided. While this is undoubtedly a great advantage, it also means greater expense; hence the usual result that a few records are bought rather than a whole collection. It seems to me that there is still room, therefore, for anthologies on the 78 model, which will be put out for commercial reasons on LP discs. I understand that the 'Anthologie sonore', which was available most easily from Ross Court of Brighton and presumably still is, is now produced on LP in the U.S.A.

One thing seems certain where records of medieval music are concerned, *i.e.* that supervision by an authoritative and not merely competent musicologist makes all the difference. Curt Sachs was in charge of both the pioneer 'Two Thousand Years of Music' and the 'Anthologie sonore', the former dating from the mid-twenties and the latter from the mid-thirties. The 'Anthologie sonore' is still in my opinion the most satisfactory collection as a whole for this reason. The success of the Pro Musica Antiqua ensemble is doubtless due to Safford Cape's close collaboration with M. Charles van den Borren. The records of Byzantine music in the 'History of Music in Sound' reveal the guiding hand of the expert, in this case Dr. Egon Wellesz. But suitable guidance is not enough. The choice of voices and instruments as well as the quality of the performers must be considered. In this respect the 'History of Music in Sound' is most uneven. Against such gems as Ciconia's 'O rosa bella' and Dufay's 'Ave Regina coelorum' (HMS 25) must be set the complete failure of Machaut's 'Ma fin est mon commencement' and the Benedictus from the Mass (HMS 21). 'Ma fin' is a *rondeau* that cries out for a performance by instruments alone. The tempo should be lively, otherwise, as here, the piece has no musical sense. The Benedictus is bogged down by two things, the choir and the pitch. With such close harmony and varied rhythms a large number of singers is out of the question, and, obvious though it may seem, transposing down in such circumstances produces a messy sound. Nature and a

knowledge of elementary acoustics should tell us that low sounds have fewer vibrations per second than high ones. Incidentally Chailley's edition of the Mass is very erroneous and should not be used for performances, in spite of its practical appearance. For this reason one is particularly suspicious of the recent 'Archive' recording of the complete Mass (APM 14063), which, although it quotes Ludwig's edition on the reverse of the index card, refers on the face of the card to the two least authoritative manuscripts, namely those that formed the basis of Chailley's edition. This should not, however, bias the reader against the performance of the Mass, which is particularly interesting.

As the LP records are most easily available, I shall deal with those first. Plainsong has been recorded in some quantity by the monks of Solesmes in France (LXT 2704-8 and LX 3118-21) and those of Beuron in Germany (AP 13005, APM 14002, 14017 and 14034). Both series are useful, though the 'Archive' recordings are more so to the student, while Decca caters for the Catholic churchman. Thus, while 'Archive' gives examples of the principal Gregorian forms, Decca are primarily concerned with furnishing good performances of the most used plainsong. This is particularly evident in their second set, which is mostly restricted to the Ordinary of the Mass, since the Proper is considered too difficult for average church choirs, generally speaking. There is in fact a modicum of overlap between the two Decca sets, *e.g.* the whole of Mass XI appears on LX 3119 as well as on LXT 2704, while the Sanctus and Agnus from Mass XVIII appear on LX 3119 and LXT 3118, which contains the whole Mass. A useful introductory pamphlet containing the music and notes on each piece was issued with the first set, and it is a pity that 'Archive' do not provide accompanying notes at least. It should not be thought that the Decca series do not give a representative selection of Gregorian forms, but their principal aim was evidently to give an authoritative performance. Thus responsories short and long, hymns and psalmody are given as well as the more usual items from the Mass in the first set, which is best if a general picture is required. Indeed, on side two of LXT 2708 there are not only eight hymns but also five settings of 'Te lucis' from the Monastic Rite. Both Decca and 'Archive' have a record devoted to the Requiem Mass (LX 3121 and APM 14002), but 'Archive' give the more complete version, including recited as well as normally sung items. In connection with their more educational function, 'Archive' give more attention to the Monastic Rite than Decca, *e.g.* the music for the First Vespers on Christmas Eve from the 'Antiphonarium Monasticum' (APM 13005). Perhaps not the most musically interest-

ing record, this one has the advantage of revealing the importance of psalm and recitation tones in Gregorian chant. The constant repetition of a few formulas brings home the timeless quality of the music better than any number of more elaborate chants. The Pater Noster is Ambrosian. 'Archive' record APM 14017 contains the plainsong for one of the high spots of the Catholic year, Easter Sunday Mass, containing such wonderful works as the Introit 'Resurrexi', the Gradual 'Haec dies', the Alleluia 'Pascha nostrum' and the Sequence 'Victimae paschali'. The Gradual and Sequence are also to be found on Decca LXT 2706. APM 14034 has prayers and music for the Adoration of the Crucifix on Good Friday, including the 'Improperia' and the hymn 'Pange lingua'. It will be seen that, while the Solesmes collection contains more music, the Beuron series is more purposeful liturgically, though it does not stick firmly to the arrangement of the 'Liber Usualis'.

A comparison between the two sets is inevitable, and it must be said that both are based on sound scholarship. Unfortunately, to an ear accustomed to the sound of medieval music, plainsong often seems something of a misfit. This, I think, is partly due to the "romantic" interpretations of Solesmes, which is considered *the* authority on plainsong. The injunction to turn our volume controls down low and keep them there is characteristic. And yet most medieval music gives the impression of being full-blooded and nothing if not straight-speaking. For me therefore Beuron is more valid, with its even and by no means veiled tone. The same is true of the rhythm. The *rubato* of Solesmes, though restrained, belies their rhythmic principles. The presence of explosive stresses, as in Sanctus XVIII, is not pleasant, and yet minor stresses are inaudible. Far more reasonable is the Beuron lengthening of notes marked originally by a bar over the note than the Solesmes *ictus*, which may be defined as an accent in the music which is ignored in performance. 'The History of Music in Sound' (HMS 10-13) provides a representative if sparse collection of Gregorian and pre-Gregorian music. The Mozarabic and Ambrosian versions are particularly welcome because little known.

The Brompton Oratory Choir is a far more satisfying body of singers than the Choir of Nashdom Abbey (HMS 12). The 'Anthologie sonore' contribution to the recorded repertory of Gregorian chant is limited to one disc (AS 34), but this is unique among records of this type. It represents an attempt to recreate a measured performance of two solo chants, a Gradual and an Alleluia, as they might have been sung before the year 1000. The rhythmic signs to be found in numerous plainsong manuscripts are the basis of the

performance, and, though the choir is not good, the solo sections are thrilling, particularly in the Alleluia. The strongly accented but evenly proportioned notes are far more convincing to the unbiased listener than Solesmes' measureless flow.

'Music of the Middle Ages' (Vox PL 8110) is an LP record of medieval French and German song, with a few dances thrown in for good measure. The performers are the Collegium Musicum of Krefeld with Erika Metzger-Ulrich and Otto Pingel as soprano and tenor soloists. The use of instruments is enlightened if not always convincing. For instance, the viol accompaniment of Neidhart's 'Mei hat wunniklich entsprossen' does not sound improvised enough, nor does the drone last long enough, but the harmony is based on medieval principles of consonance and has been specially composed. In the dances percussion, particularly bells, lend brilliance to a basically monodic conception. The small drum or tabor is rather monotonous in its beat, but Arbeau in the sixteenth century seems to confirm such an interpretation. There is a sophistication in these performances which often belies the period. It is unlikely that viol and woodwind instruments would alternate in the performance of one and the same piece, nor would bells play at the interval of a fourth or fifth, but rather at the octave. Witzlaw von Rügen's 'We ich han gedacht' is particularly well done. The viol prelude and accompaniment is just what is required. The only quibble would be that the constant repetition of identical melodic phrase and accompaniment becomes a little tiresome and a little ornament in the viol part would make all the difference. Plucked as well as bowed viols are employed in certain pieces. The *estampie royale* and *Kalenda Maya* are both amply supplied with percussion but the accents are too heavy. The *Saltarello* is charmingly orchestrated, if as usual with a little too much complexity. Adam de La Halle's 3-part song 'Dieu soit en cheste maison' is rich enough without instruments. In the solo Italian dance called 'Lamento di Tristano' the recording accents the contrast between the lament and the after-dance called 'La rotta'. In fact there can be little doubt that, in spite of the title, the lament too should be firmly accented and almost gay by modern standards.

Guillaume de Machaut, French master of the fourteenth century, is given an LP disc to himself on 'Archive' APM 14063. The first side contains the complete 'Messe Notre-Dame' already mentioned and on the reverse are ten varied secular works: *ballades*, *virelais*, a *motet*, a *rondeau* and a *complainte*. The ensemble is the Pro Musica Antiqua. Two *ballades* and a *virelai* were recorded years ago on AS 67 of the 'Anthologie sonore', and, as neither interpretation



nor instrumentation seems to have varied greatly with the years, one may ask whether it would not have been better to record further examples of Machaut's art. Another motet or perhaps a *lai* would have been welcome. An interesting feature of the Mass is that the interpretation is primarily vocal, while instruments are barely audible. In full vocal harmony the only accompanying instrument appears to be a viol on the bottom line. Occasionally a lute fills in middle parts, and on the rare occasions that the upper parts need strengthening a recorder is used. The performance is clear but not otherwise outstanding. The songs come off better, though sixteenth-century instruments are not sufficient. Recorders were doubtless used in the middle ages, but shawms and bagpipes were more characteristic. Oboes, cor anglais and bassoons could be employed to advantage. In some cases Safford Cape gives one part to one voice or one instrument while in, for instance, the *virelai* 'Se je souspir' a recorder doubles the voice and lute doubles tenor viol in the accompanying part. It is surprising to hear the tritextual *ballade* 'Sans cuer-Amis, dolens—Dame, par vous' on instruments alone, as this canon at the unison cries out for voices. The motet is untrammelled in its progress when set for soprano, alto and tenor viol, but the same cannot be said of the very brief *rondeau* 'Puis qu'en oubli', which might have been better transposed up. In any case it was a mistake to double the lower parts of such a low-lying piece.

APM 14019 contains works from the Florentine *trecento* composers on one side and sacred compositions by Dufay on the other, again by the Pro Musica Antiqua ensemble. These performances are generally enjoyable and acceptable. Variety is obtained by introducing first instruments, then voices, then voices plus an instrument and finally voices doubled by instruments. The reediness of viols without wind instruments can soon become monotonous, however, though the addition of a plucked lute is a powerful guarantee against this, as in the entirely instrumental *ballata* 'Caro Signor' and 'El mie dolce sospir' by Landini. The madrigal 'Fenice fù' by Jacopo da Bologna and the *caccia* 'Tosto che l'alba' by Gherardello were both recorded by the ensemble on AS 59, but in the new recording the trombone on the bottom line is changed for a bass singer, which sounds much better in the *ritornello*. Voices in fact are generally used much more than in the French music, and it is accepted that two-part madrigals may be sung by voices alone without the support of instruments. 'Nessun ponga speranza', a *ballata*, sounds very well on three male voices, though perhaps the melancholy is slightly overdone. There is another change in instrumentation from the older recording on AS 63 in the final *ballata* 'Gram piant' agl' occhi'. The medieval

harp seems to have gone the way of all flesh and even the recorder has had to make way for the dominating viols and lute. This work is very attractive but scarcely deserves Ludwig's description as "perhaps the most beautiful work of the century". 'Amar si li alti tuo gentil costumi', also a work by Landini (Pro Musica Antiqua) on HMS 22, is equally pleasing. Of the five Dufay pieces two are hymns, two non-isorhythmic motets and one a polyphonic *lauda* or vernacular hymn (in this case the text is by Petrarch). The mellifluous sounds of the song-like motets and through-composed *lauda* alternate with simple, faburden-harmonized hymns, which are themselves set in *alternatim* fashion, one verse in plainsong, the next in three-part harmony. The 'Alma Redemptoris' motet is also available by the same ensemble on AS 35.

The first complete Mass by Dufay to be recorded is the 'Caput' Mass (OL 50069). We must be grateful that this task fell to an English ensemble, the Ambrosian Singers conducted by Denis Stevens, even if the recording was financed by the Lyre-Bird Press. Apart from the fact that two movements, Sanctus and Agnus, appear in an English manuscript, the whole work is based on an antiphon of English origin, 'Venit ad Petrum'. This is sung on the record before the rest of the Mass, which uses the final melisma of the antiphon, 'Caput', as its *cantus firmus*. This four-part work is a far cry from the early three-part 'Missa sine nomine', for instead of a soloistic conception with instrumental accompaniment the feeling and performance is quite a *cappella*, though a trombone is occasionally employed to double the *cantus firmus*. The performance must be accounted a success, though undoubtedly a work of this size needs very careful execution to ensure sustained interest. This is partly produced by the contrast between duos and full four-part writing, and the trombone swells the sound at important points. More trombones would probably have been used originally, but how is the problem.

Another complete Mass of this period has been recorded on OL 50104. It is attributed to Binchois in the source, a Brussels manuscript which actually belonged to the Burgundian court, but a more likely claimant is Busnois, considering that the name Binchois was written in after the original name became illegible. The performance is by the Chapel of Burgundy, a group instituted in Brussels in 1950 to further the music of the Netherlands. The Mass is performed *a cappella* by tenors, baritones and basses. The performance is creditable, but the tone less even than the Ambrosians'. Moreover certain attacks are positively brutal, for instance in the Hosanna.

This brings us to 78 records. Those published by the Lyre-Bird Press are often experimental in character, for instance OL 109 with thirteenth-century motets from the Montpellier Manuscript, performed by women's voices, and OL 102 with late fourteenth-century French and Italian pieces. OL 1, 2 and 3 however are available with the music, which formed part of the series 'Monuments of the Ars Nova'. Voices are excellent, and there is an interesting choice of instruments: trumpet, bass trumpet, trombone and hurdy-gurdy. The last is used on OL 2 for the tenor part of the anonymous motet 'A vous, vierge'—'Ad te, virgo'. OL 1 is particularly successful, with a madrigal for soprano and tenor by Jacopo da Bologna and a delightfully ornate Gloria by Matheus de Perusio for the two voices accompanied by a bass trumpet. OL 3 contains Machaut's 'Hoquetus David' performed on the three brass instruments. This is a difficult work to approach, but one of the most rewarding in the long run. Its complex rhythms reveal a masterly interlocking of the voices as one soars above or appears below another at the most unexpected moments. The anonymous *virelai* on the reverse side, 'Or sus vous dormés trop', with its charming bird-calls, was extremely popular in Italy, even if it was not composed there. Works by Burgundian composers like Grenon, Binchois, Morton (English by birth) and Hayne appear on OL 42, 61-63, 126 and 136. All the music is to be found in the Lyre-Bird volume 'Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne' (1937). The Morton pieces are played on instruments, mostly woodwind, while most of the others are sung by soloists with instrumental accompaniment. Particularly recommended as music are Grenon's Christmas motet 'Nova vobis gaudia' (OL 61) and *ballade* 'Je ne requier de ma dame' (OL 136). The Yvonne Rokseth memorial volume of thirteenth-century polyphony (OL 230-4) can hardly be accounted a success. The four-part 'Viderunt' by Pérotin is given in full, but it exaggerates the modal rhythms to an extent which the French seem to find more satisfactory than the more romantic northerners. A festal but by no means over-romanticized performance of the best of Pérotin's *organa*, employing voices and instruments judiciously, is still required.

The 'Anthologie sonore' offers a disc containing the two-part *organum* 'Deum time' in the style of Léonin and the three-part *organum* 'Diffusa est gratia' in the style of Pérotin (AS 65). The two-part work is the better of the two pieces, the other is too heavy and laboured. The modal rhythms should spring along in dance style. The upper parts of each work are sung by soloists, while two tenors without instrumental support sing the plainsong in the lowest part. It would undoubtedly be more correct if the missing plainsong

sections could be supplied by a choir between the solo polyphonic sections of medieval *organa*. The 'History of Music in Sound' has let us down rather badly over the *organa* of the Notre-Dame school, though there are some early examples in free rhythm and in arbitrary duple rhythm of *organa* and *conductus*. These are a short piece in parallel fourths according to the 'Musica Enchiriadis', two Alleluias in contrary motion (two-part) from a now destroyed Chartres manuscript (11th century), a troped 'Benedicamus' from a manuscript at Lucca (12th century), a Kyrie trope from the Compostella Codex (12th century) and the assumedly three-part 'Congaudeant Catholici' (HMS 16). The latter is transcribed into a very jerky and unsatisfactory 6-8 rhythm. Ludwig's version, in which there is not a trace of triple rhythm, is far better because better proportioned. It is available in the old 'Two Thousand Years of Music' in an unprofessional but acceptable performance (Parlophone R 1017).

English music is well represented in the 'History of Music in Sound'. 'Verbum patris humanatur', a late twelfth-century *conductus*, comes from a Cambridge fragment, with the inevitable 'Sumer is icumen in' on the same side (HMS 17). The latter is happily in the familiar triple time rather than in Bukofzer's suggested original duple time. The four pieces for instruments on the reverse of this record are called dances, but in fact they are melismas torn from their context in thirteenth-century *conductus*. The two-part dances from the same manuscript as 'Sumer is icumen in' on HMS 18 are more genuine. The only percussion in these pieces is a tabor, as in the dances on AS 16, but the latter disc is valuable for its genuinely medieval instrumentation of pipe and tabor and small bagpipe (*musette*). An English two-part song on the reverse of HMS 18 is again lacking in definite rhythm, which is obviously a fault, even if the notation is unclear. On the same side we have valuable examples of the Worcester repertory, certain of which, e.g. the motet 'Ex semine', come from French sources, while the *conductus* 'Beata viscera' is in English discant style. HMS 19 contains French and English polyphony, mainly motets from around the year 1300. Particularly attractive are the three-part Worcester motet 'Puellare—Purissima' and the round 'Rosa fragrans', actually part of a *conductus* in an Oxford manuscript.

There is a good selection of medieval song from most West European countries on HMS 14 and 15, but the lack of instrumental accompaniment is disturbing. Frederick Fuller has a tendency to "throw the time about" in the slower pieces and 'Worldes blis' is clearly too slow, but otherwise his voice is very satisfying. The more

accomplished Pro Musica Antiqua group only get one side of HMS 14, but all four pieces are well done. The *rondeau* 'Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat' is accompanied by pipe and tabor in deference to the dance associations of this form. Adam de La Halle's charming love duet 'Bergeronette' is beautifully divided between the pastoral lovers Robin and Marion. A selection of *trouvère* and *minnesinger* songs on AS 18 has a viol accompaniment.

English music of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century is represented by HMS 22-24. 'Angelus ad virginem', mentioned by Chaucer, is sung first as a monody and then in three parts with the principal melody in the middle. The Agincourt song and a vernacular carol make us acquainted with the characteristic English alternation between two- and three-part harmony. Actual church music in the form of a 'Nesciens mater' by Byttering shows close imitation of the contemporary carol. John Dunstable is poorly represented by a single work, the four-part isorhythmic motet 'Veni Sancte Spiritus'. This is well performed by Pro Musica Antiqua, but is a little on the slow side.

'Anthologie sonore' practically ignores English music, but has the advantage of presenting on records a considerable quantity of unpublished music. The work of Guillaume de Van is noteworthy in this respect, e.g. four songs from the Chantilly Manuscript 1047 and the Gloria and *ballade* from the early fifteenth-century Cyprus Manuscript now at Turin (AS 110 and 126). The complex Chantilly pieces are badly and monotonously performed on instruments alone, but the Cyprus Gloria is most exciting. The style of the music is that of late fourteenth-century France, for Cyprus belonged to a French prince at this time. The four-voice work itself is a perpetual hocket and of course isorhythmic technique finds a place too. Nonetheless, each line is perfectly clear. The *ballade* too is an attractive solo song with instrumental accompaniment. The complex rhythms of the late Ars Nova are very evident and the title, 'Le point agu, poignant a desmesure', may be a subtle reference to the dot used to indicate syncopation in medieval notation. Dufay's isorhythmic motet 'Salve flos—Vos nunc Etrusce' is excellently performed by de Van's ensemble, the Paraphonistes de Saint-Jean-des-Matines on AS 121, though much of the credit must doubtless go to the accomplished soloists Bonté and Bousquet. Trombones sound well on the lower two lines. A very attractive work is the song-motet 'O flos flagrans' by Johannes Brassart and it is very delightfully sung by Lina Dauby on AS 27. The accompaniment is a trio of viols. Machaut's Mass on AS 31-32, performed by de Van's group, using trombones again, is not a success (Kyrie and Gloria are omitted). The anonymous *chace*

on AS 59 and HMS 20, performed by members of the Pro Musica Antiqua, is worth anyone's money. It is a canon at the unison for two voices (should be three) depicting in music the most popular pastime of the middle ages—hunting. The most exciting section is the middle one, where hocketing brings out the suspense when the hunters are close to the kill.

Finally a plea for suitable accompanying notes with records of medieval music. Handbooks like those provided with the 'History of Music in Sound' should be accurate and conform to what is found on the records. Notes on the music are useful, but full details of voices and instruments used, together with complete texts, are most necessary. The edition used should also be mentioned, preferably with date and page. It is also good to know when a piece was recorded.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A number of book reviews and all music reviews are unavoidably postponed.

*Alban Berg: the Man and his Music.* By H. F. Redlich. pp. 316. (Calder, London, 1957, 30s.)

The triumvirate of the so-called "Second Viennese School" was once compared aptly, and not necessarily blasphemously, with the Holy Trinity. For a small child God the Father is a remote, authoritative person, and the Holy Ghost a concept not to be grasped at all (unless the child has particularly clever parents and an unusually vivid imagination); it is God the Son who alone is real, a person to whom prayers are spontaneously addressed, and a spirit for whom love can be felt at an early age.

Similarly, for the newcomer to Viennese music in the first half of the twentieth century, Berg is the composer with the immediate appeal, by the humanity and attractive sound of his music. Schoenberg is the father-figure, awe-inspiring and undoubtedly powerful; Webern, who seems likely to exert the strongest influence on music in the next twenty-five years or so, is an ethereal phenomenon, whose works when heard meant almost nothing and seemed based on a rationale that ordinary human minds could not share. But Berg's 'Wozzeck', the violin Concerto, the 'Lyric Suite', the piano Sonata, even the 'Three Orchestral Pieces', can be appreciated aurally and their quality approved, on first hearing, without preliminary study. 'Lulu' and the Chamber Concerto are more rarely heard, and the impact they immediately make is a temporary one; after several hearings and some study they sound quite different and exert an effect that first hearing did not even anticipate. But 'Wozzeck' and the violin Concerto do not change; the prepared ear enjoys new details of structure and timbre with each hearing, but the basic effect of the music is only repeated and confirmed in its basic truth and beauty.

This basic appeal, and the need for intensive study, assure a readership for an English book on Berg. Dr. Redlich divides his study into three parts. An Introduction sets the scene and introduces the triumvirate of his "second Viennese School"; I should have thought that Mahler, as predecessor, anticipator and inspiration of that school deserved to be numbered among its members, but Dr. Redlich insists that he, like Bruckner, Brahms and Wolf, "has continued to exercise influence only through isolated pupils". This is hard on the glorious Association of Grandfathers. In the second part of the Introduction Dr. Redlich traces Berg's fondness for allusive harmony and the elliptical cadence, indeed all the facets of his and colleagues' atonal style, back through Liszt, Wagner and Beethoven to Mozart. His links and comparisons sometimes seem far-fetched, and when later in the book he announces that Beethoven's last quartets are all (save Op. 135) based on a single four-note series, we wish he would expound his thesis in more detail.

In the second part of the book Berg's works are discussed and analytically scrutinized. Dr. Redlich's analyses have, even at the time of writing this review, come in for severe reproof. They involve fearsome diagrams full of patterns and symbols and arrows and dotted lines; they make very hard reading. Yet for the serious student to whom Dr. Redlich's book is addressed they are full of interest, even when the patterns can be refuted (which is an occupational hazard of analysis, since the technique involves subjective association beyond the surface coherence of the notes—indeed that surface coherence is as much sympathetic interpretation as scientific exposition). To take only one example: on p. 181 we are shown that the "unnatural tendencies of the Lesbian Countess Geschwitz" in 'Lulu' are symbolized musically by pentatonically organized motives that "can be associated with the pentatonic system of Ancient Greece, and thus with Greek tendencies to homosexual love (Lesbos)". On p. 187 we are shown the sequence of chord clusters on the piano which characterize Rodrigo the lion-tamer. The last and most striking of these is thumped out on the black notes of the piano. But there are no "Greek tendencies" in that super-extravert Rodrigo, unless it be that Lulu persuades him, much against his will, to add Countess Geschwitz to the catalogue of his conquests!

No, the analysis is stimulating, and Berg himself was an inveterate analyst; but it does not go far enough. Students can certainly hear the sounds of the music for themselves, but they would probably like to be directed to the many *trouvailles* of timbre and sonority in, say, the 'Three Orchestral Pieces' which Dr. Redlich only discusses structurally; the nature of the vocal writing in 'Der Wein' as compared with 'Lulu'; or to Berg's musical character in general, seen from an æsthetic point of view. None of these falls within Dr. Redlich's purview; perhaps he had no room, in which case it is a pity that the book is not larger; at 30s. it is already out of the popular-priced category. At that price it seems a pity that the engraved examples are mingled with manuscript ones, rather messy manuscript, and that some German phrases were left in them from the earlier German edition of the book. One engraved example is reproduced upside down.

The third part of the book is biographical, and most interesting. Berg's life, character and environment are neatly pinpointed; the comparison with Hofmannsthal is extremely sensible. In the account of his death the month is wrongly given as September; Berg died, as we are elsewhere correctly reminded, on Christmas Eve 1935.

A series of appendices includes Schoenberg's reminiscence of Berg, a facsimile of Berg's early, rather Brahmsian, piano Variations in C major, his long and graphic lecture on 'Wozzeck', a catalogue, discography (which will soon fall out of date, I hope but fear—discographies are redundant in any but ephemeral publications), and a sizable bibliography, as well as an index. Dr. Redlich confesses that the time is not yet ripe for a proper biographical study of Berg; there is much more to be written too about his music. What this book does supply is some solid initial spadework.

W. S. M.

*Modest Mussorgsky: his Life and Works.* By M. D. Calvocoressi. pp. 321. (Rockliff, London, 1956, 42s.)

The late M. D. Calvocoressi's life-long enthusiasm for Mussorgsky found expression in three books, two of them posthumously published. The first, written in French, appeared in 1908; the third was in the 'Master Musicians' series, left unfinished on the author's death in 1944, completed by Gerald Abraham and published in 1946. The present work is the second and most important. It was originally begun in 1924 to a commission by Kushevitsky; it was then postponed and revised for various good reasons, finished in 1938, lost in the German occupation of Paris, discovered by Francis Poulenc, and now it appears at last, seen through the press by Gerald Abraham.

This is, as Prof. Abraham comments, Calvocoressi's *magnum opus*. A large amount of biographical material, come to light since the first book, has been examined and sifted, the author's study of the music has been pursued more thoroughly (but causing him to revise no important judgments), and from some thirty years' close acquaintance of the material has come what will be considered the classic on the subject. From the available biographical sources (listed at the end) and from some private letters there is built up a vivid picture of this extraordinary and striking man. Calvocoressi sees Mussorgsky clearly and sees him whole, his view of the subject lit with an affection that casts no concealing shadows on the murkier side of the subject. Nothing is concealed that is of importance in making the complete picture. Mussorgsky's somewhat awkward charm and gift for winning affection emerge clearly, together with his deep sincerity and wish to better himself—both, alas, compatible in him more than in most men with the physical inability to follow his resolutions. This dichotomy of the spiritual and physical lay at the very heart of Mussorgsky's character, making his life a plunging progress between squalid physical misery and popularity and success, between fumbling musical clumsiness and blinding originality. Mussorgsky's odd sexual disposition and the terrible consequences of his alcoholism are both frankly described, though no connection is drawn between them. Whether his later dipsomania is in fact wholly attributable to the appalling conventions of manhood in the Preobrazhensky Guards is doubtful; many of Mussorgsky's brother cadets seem to have been more drunken than he without subsequently dying of acute alcoholism. The portrait with which we are presented depicts a man with a natural weakness (mental as well as the physical one of a weak head for drink) which early bad habits can probably have done little more than aggravate disastrously. Calvocoressi does not allow the possibility that Mussorgsky's distress over his abnormality (a physical one as well as a mental), which is recorded in some anguished heartsearchings in letters to friends, might be a more probable cause for sapping his resistance to a chronic weakness. The final alcoholic decay makes ugly reading, but although Mussorgsky's end was no less terrible than Dylan Thomas's, there is no dwelling on sordid detail.

There is a thorough examination of the origins of Mussorgsky's mature musical style. The chapter on realism is particularly good; it blows away misconceptions and delves into the essence of the composer's beliefs and aims. These never wavered, though the technique remained imperfect to the end. From this springs the elaborate trouble over the revisions.

Mussorgsky mistrusted mere facility—"Rimsky-Korsakov . . . has turned out 16 fugues, each more complicated than the last—and that's all!"—as much as he despised blinkered scholarship—"A German could write a whole treatise on the fact that Beethoven wrote a certain crotchet stem downwards instead of upwards according to rule. He would never realize that Beethoven, working a white heat, would make little slips, and did not bother about nonsensical details." Mussorgsky made more than little slips, and Calvocoressi does not pretend otherwise. Rimsky-Korsakov has been harshly dealt with by many critics; Calvocoressi can speak convincingly in his defence when necessary.

The final chapters are a masterly discussion of technique and style (they are the full treatment of the subject of which Chapter XI of the 'Master Musicians' book is a sketch). Calvocoressi avoids the pitfalls of analytical examination while giving a remarkably clear appreciation of Mussorgsky's musical character and what "made it tick". There is none of that tiresome and aesthetically valueless dissection of material, "discovery" of non-existent relationships and attribution to them of musical significance. Calvocoressi was a musician, able to explain how his composer's mind went to work. His scholarly, technical, always readable study gives a picture of a musical character that is a model of analytical criticism. He is thorough, he is detailed without ever losing his humanity in a maze of technicalities; he is as scholarly on the special study of Russian folk music as he is alert to its relationship to western music and modern developments. He knows the limitations of analysis and directs it always towards musical ends. These final chapters are most fruitfully read with the music to hand, but with it or without it, they are a major work of criticism. There is musical wisdom here beyond the confines of the subject.

J. W.

*Bach's Fugal Works: with an Account of Fugue before and after Bach.* By A. E. F. Dickinson. pp. 280. (Pitman, London, 1956, 30s.)

A review copy of this book having been sent by the publishers nearly a year ago and unaccountably lost, it can now be noticed only briefly in a general way, lest it should be kept waiting yet another three months. It has had a very favourable press on the whole and, also on the whole, has deserved it. Some fault may be found with the writing: the author is given to decorating a straightforward statement with ornaments that can obscure the sense. The substance of the work, and the learning that has produced it, is all but unexceptionable. After an introductory chapter and another entitled 'The Nature and Structure of Fugue'—"structure", very properly, and not "form"—the whole of Bach's fugal output is surveyed in great detail and with many observations that draw attention to unsuspected devices and subtleties.

Among the four final chapters 'Bach's Fugal Craftsmanship' sums up the master's achievement; 'Fugue before Bach' and 'Fugue after Bach' show the ascent to and descent from a peak never quite reached again, but having ever since served as an inspiration. As Mr. Dickinson says in his very brief final chapter, 'Fugue in Musical Experience', "... the exceptional and always qualified fugal achievements of Beethoven and after confirm beyond doubt an impression of exhaustion and emergency".

But he is well aware that without Bach, and indeed without many others who have cultivated the fugue, music would have held a different place in history and would even to-day have arrived at a different phase. He ends by saying that:

... the comparatively short history of fugue has been an often fascinating and revealing experience. This composition "by rule" is finished, but its creations continue to warm the musician's hands and spirit, as a model for future types of thought and evolution. Rule is dead. Long life to it!

E. B.

*Ninth Music Book, containing 'John Gay and the Ballad Opera (The Beggar's Opera)'. By Geoffrey Handley-Taylor & Frank Granville Barker, compiled and edited by Max Hinrichsen. pp. 178, pl. 30. (Hinrichsen, London, 1956, 12s. 6d.)*

Like others among Mr. Hinrichsen's "Music Books" this ninth volume assembles a great deal of useful and interesting material. Those who want to know all about 'The Beggar's Opera' will here find much, indeed in some respects too much, while in others they will still have to go farther afield. The different modern versions, for example, are nowhere discussed, though both text and illustrations are much concerned with Frederick Austin's and its production at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, including many details that have fundamentally nothing to do with the work itself. The important Dent and Britten versions are just barely mentioned, and Sir Arthur Bliss's setting for a film, from which an air is shown in full score, receives little notice otherwise as a musical work. If such omissions are due to exigencies of space, one could have spared the information about the two film stars who were married at Cambridge, Mass., while they were appearing in Gay's ballad opera there; about orchestral variations on a tune from it by one Peter Jona Korn, first performed at Louisville, Ohio, in 1955; or about the strange fact, recorded by the 'Brewery Trade Review', that in the course of two hundred years not one brew was named after characters from so alcoholic a work as 'The Beggar's Opera'.

An essay on John Gay and the ballad opera shows the joint authors to be comprehensively knowledgeable. The only fault I can find there is that they repeat the old mistake about Allan Ramsay's 'Gentle Shepherd', which did not precede Gay's piece of 1728 as a ballad opera, but was remodelled with songs in 1729 from a pastoral play of 1725, no doubt in the hope of cashing in on Gay's success. Cast lists of important productions, a classified and detailed bibliography and other features are welcome, particularly Mr. Handley-Taylor's observations on the sources of all the 69 airs selected by Gay and originally furnished with a bass by Pepusch. From this section it is especially valuable to gather that the words for five of the songs were not by Gay, two being by Lord Chesterfield and one each by Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, "Mr. Fortescue, Master of the Rolls" and—one of the most neatly epigrammatic of all ("When you censure the age")—by no other than Swift. The melodic sources of the songs are given in much detail, some of which will be new to readers; but it seems to have escaped the author that according to Whittaker ('Collected Essays', p. 36) "O ponder well" was one of three tunes



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The 130 illustrations, sometimes a little far-fetched but never altogether irrelevant, make a fascinating collection, and it was a great scoop for the Editor when he found a complete set of the 52 playing-cards, each with a 'Beggar's Opera' tune engraved on it, which had been known to exist but seemed to have vanished without a trace. But he need surely not have so tantalizingly refrained from telling us where he discovered them.

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*Life of Mozart.* By Franz Niemetschek. Translated by Helen Mautner. pp. 87. (Hyman, London, 1956, 21s.)

It cannot be said that Niemetschek's life of Mozart, which was published in Prague in 1798 under the title of 'Leben des K. K. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart', is nowadays really wanted as such, any more than Nissen's of 1828 or Edward Holmes's first English biography of 1845. But, like these later books, it is a document which the English Mozartian will be glad to have on his shelves; it should form part of every library containing a representative collection of Mozartiana.

The author's name in its proper Czech form (not just "in the vernacular form", as Mr. Hyatt King says in his Introduction) was Němeček, and although, as Mr. King tells us, he "himself preferred the German form" (actually "transliteration"), it is perhaps worth saying that this does not accurately represent the pronunciation, the first syllable being *Njem* in Czech, not *Neem*. Mr. King, by the way, seems to share Niemetschek's preference, for he follows him in spelling "Duschek" for "Dušek". Whether the corrective footnotes, which are clearly distinguished from the author's own, are added by the translator or by Mr. King is not clear, but one may doubt whether the latter would have corrected Niemetschek's mis-spelling of the name of Mozart's mother (Bertlinn) by just saying "Usually spelt Pertl". It was Pertl, or possibly Bertl, but was also often written Pertlin, in the feminine form used in eighteenth-century German, as it still is in the Slavonic languages<sup>1</sup>.

If this is really and truly a book for the Mozart student, it cannot be said to be one for the music-lover who is intent on making his first acquaintance with Mozartian biography. For such a purpose it would have required far more corrective editorial notes. It bristles with mistakes, mis-statements and omissions<sup>2</sup>, and one is bound to point out that insufficient warning of this is given in the Introduction. On the other hand, as Mr. King rightly observes there, the little book is remarkable as "one of the earliest specimens of musical biography, which was still

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It is only fair to add that Mr. Leonard Hyman seems to have been well aware that he was not producing a book for the masses, for his edition is limited to 650 numbered copies, which is probably an explanation of and certainly an excuse for the high price.

E. B.

*Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord: 1440 to 1840.* By Donald Boalch. pp. 169, pl. 32. (George Ronald, London and Cardiff, 1956, 63s.)

There are said to be X Stradivari violins still surviving, though one always forgets the exact figure. There are certainly X dictionaries of violin makers, but so far Mr. Boalch is the only person who has thought of doing similar service for makers of the harpsichord and clavichord. When a book is the only one of its kind, it matters less that it should be done at all than that it should be well done. In this instance the precision of the facts given and the professional standards of reference and cross-reference which are maintained inspire complete confidence in the author's knowledge and methods. The dictionary is not confined to makers' names but is an exhaustive catalogue of every instrument by them, known either to exist at the time of writing or to have been mentioned in past records. Such a world-list can never be definitive, but it is impossible to believe that there have been any notable omissions. It so happens that the surviving material is of just the right size and diversity, statistically considered, to be dealt with in this way.

Mr. Boalch is especially to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which he has traced the vicissitudes of so many individual examples in private hands, in museums and in the sale-room, on his reasoned and critical examination of evidence and on his passion for the chapter and verse of any statement. The result, in its own way a bibliographical masterpiece, is backed by first-class layout and design: spacious without extravagance and elegant without being mannered. The instrument lists are, for the most part, distributed about the text in boxed tabular form, which makes them extremely easy of reference. The text is further broken up by the family trees of many of the more important makers. Additional and very helpful facilities are afforded by an index of the chief collections containing keyboard instruments, with particulars of any catalogues; a geographical and chronological conspectus of the makers; lists of surviving English virginals, of the few known "three-deckers" and of the London apprentices of harpsichord makers between 1622 and 1758. There is also a glossary of equivalent terms in four languages. A bibliography and plates complete the contents. The last are barely an adequate support for the text, though they have been carefully chosen to illustrate rare and unfamiliar examples. This is the only section of the book that could with advantage be amplified in a second edition, which—if I am any judge of the demand for books about musical instruments—is a foregone conclusion.

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E. H.

*The Gramophone Handbook.* By Percy Wilson. pp. 227. (Methuen, London, 1957, 15s.)

*Ouverture pour une discolthèque.* By Roland de Candé. pp. 288. (Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1956.)

No doubt there are still some musicians and musical people whose experience of the gramophone is limited to the old style of gramophone with a large horn and a pick-up weighing a ton, to steel needles (loud or soft) and 78 r.p.m. discs. But for most of us, I think, the menace of Hi-fi is an accepted hazard of musical life, and those of us who play our LP records on a little player connected to the radio must dream wistfully every now and again, but particularly in *ff* climaxes, of transcription motors, tweeters and squawkers, infinite baffle and the diamond stylus. High-Fi is no more real than the unicorn in the garden, but for anyone with a musical ear these modern marvels of science are covetable. We may laugh at the "audiophile" who only judges records by their lack of surface noise and cross-modulation, but we should be fools to ignore him.

Both these books are for the modern record collector. M. de Candé's penguin-sized monograph is more or less a potted history of music with a list of records at the end of each chapter. Its bias is typically French: English readers will not agree, though some might wish, that Nahum Tate is "fort heureusement oublié"; and though we may understand why his twentieth-century composers include Dutilleux and Lesur, but ignore Britten and Copland, Janáček and Nielsen, we cannot approve the method of selection. The best part of the book is its illustrations, which are copious, often unusual and very pleasantly reproduced; even the hideous ones (Beethoven's nine Symphonies translated into female statuary) tell us something, though not perhaps about music.

Readers of the monthly magazine 'The Gramophone' will not have to be told that the other book, by Percy Wilson, M.A., is a more serious affair altogether. Others should be told that it is not any sort of record guide; it is about the science of record reproduction, detailed as readably as possible, but not without recourse to necessary technicalities. The fourteen chapters are laid out in shortish subsections, each with a sensible cross-heading. Acoustics, the process of recording, hazards and ideals of reproduction, care of records and multi-dimensional or stereophonic recording are fully discussed, as is each component of the desirable reproducing equipment. There is a fairly full glossary and advertisements are kept firmly at the back of the book: Mr. Wilson refuses to recommend specific makes, but merely tells us what to look for. Those of us who write about records will be glad of his term for 78 r.p.m. discs—"coarse-groove"—since it is obviously ridiculous to go on calling them "standard speed" when it is virtually impossible to buy them.

W. S. M.

*The Figure of the Musician in German Literature.* By George C. Schoolfield. ('Studies in the German Languages and Literatures', No. 19.) pp. 204. (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1956, \$4.50.)

It is symptomatic of the penetration into American learning of German culture that one of the minor universities in the U.S.A. should publish a series such as that of which this volume forms part. The present

book, which is the first contribution to this series to be connected in some way with music, quotes so many passages in German, often difficult and always untranslated, that the whole might just as well have been written in the language a sound knowledge of which the author presupposes. His work is decidedly interesting, but much more so as a literary than as a musical study. The figures of musicians in German literature are often dragged in for the sake of statistics, so to speak. Miller in Schiller's 'Kabale und Liebe', for example, who helps to precipitate his daughter's tragedy because he is an unimaginative and despotic father, would have done so had he been a miller by trade as well as by name instead of a double-bass player. Or again, Scheffel could have contrived the situation of his 'Trompeter von Säckingen' just as sentimentally if his hero had occupied some other inferior position than that of a seventeenth-century minstrel; and he could have saved himself such a frightful howler as to have music by "Claudio von Monteverde" (ennobled solely for the sake of scansion) played by a nineteenth-century *Kurorchester* of Ems or Wiesbaden—clarinets and all. No doubt Werner plays on a valve trumpet, as indeed he is bound to do in Nessler's tawdry opera on the subject, which resembles nothing so much as the stained-glass scenes from the 'Trompeter' that used to adorn the *Weinstube* of so many German inns.

Not much is discussed in the short introductory chapter entitled 'The Musician in German Literature before Romanticism'; but then there is not much German literature before Lessing or thereabouts, as a continuous movement or school, any more than there is a settled German language, though of course there are isolated books and literary figures. After that, in four large chapters (I. 'Romanticism'; II. 'Biedermeier and Poetic Realism'; III. 'The Post-Wagnerian Age'; IV. 'The Age of Musicology'), ranging from Wackenroder and Rochlitz to Thomas Mann, Werfel and Hermann Hesse, there is a great deal of interest to be learnt, and the musician as such becomes more often an integral element in the works discussed. Lovers of Schumann will be glad to find a good deal about Kapellmeister Kreisler without having to dig him out of E. T. A. Hoffmann, and many people will like to find something about Hoffmann's story of Krespel and his daughter Antonia which they know only from Offenbach. One could go on filling pages with references to things far less familiar and no less engaging.

Some imprecise language of which the author is guilty has a bearing on what has been said in the first paragraph. One has not got past page 6 before one finds him saying "forsake his love" when he means "renounce" and calling a nunnery or convent a "cloister" (*Kloster*). E. B.

Ravel. By Vladimir Jankélévitch. ('Solfèges' series, No. 3.) pp. 192. (Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1956.)

The best of this little book is in its pictures, which are reasonably well reproduced, copious, unusual, fascinating and mostly intelligently chosen. There are some unfamiliar snapshots of Ravel, together with the well-known ones, and there are plenty of reproductions of costumes for the stage works; it is less valuable to be reminded of Repin's famous portrait of Mussorgsky simply because of a reference in the text to his influence on Ravel and because of the 'Pictures at an Exhibition' orchestration.



The book is divided into three: 'L'évolution', which traces the course of Ravel's career work by work; 'L'industrie', in which various elements—rhythm, harmony, instrumental virtuosity and so on—are examined; and 'Appassionato', an exploration of the musical character under two headings, 'Les masques' (a fair title for Ravel's artifices of style) and 'Sensualité et véhémence'.

But M. Jankélévitch's style and approach are irritating and shallow. He is excessively prone to that French critical *tic* of inverted rhetorical questions. "Dans le 'Pas espagnol', Fauré, l'artiste le plus raffiné de la terre, n'accorde-t-il pas une pensée à Chabrier?", he quizzes us, and the trick recurs again and again. He presumably intends, by combining technical details with flights of poetic fancy, to strike a happy medium of information and readability. In fact he performs the odd gymnastic feat of sitting on the fence and falling between two stools. Of 'Shéhérazade':

L'exorde débute par un niagara somptueux de septièmes majeures qui s'écroulent depuis l'aigu, parmi les bouillonnements de l'écume et les crépitements du phosphore, et vient aboutir à une sorte de barcarolle au-dessus de laquelle retentissent des sonneries lointaines qui sont comme l'appel du large et des promontoires fabuleux; deux quintes tendent sous la caravelle du désir leur fond mouvant de consonances dissonances . . .

One is left breathless and none the wiser. He can gush over the barest facts. He cannot simply tell us that Ravel liked sevenths; it must be "La septième majeure, autrement dit la fausse note . . . oui, c'est bien elle qui remplit de son acidité et de ses scintillements la musique de Ravel". When the sevenths invert, he too goes head over heels with excitement: "Rugueuses, mordantes secondes! et comme Ravel a aimé cet épice précieux". There is much of this sort of thing, little that adds to our knowledge or appreciation of Ravel. There is, however, quite a useful short chronological table at the end, with some quotations from Ravel's letters and from Roland-Manuel's 'Esquisse biographique'. J. W.

*Aufführungspraxis bei Vivaldi.* By Walter Kolneder. pp. 122. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1956.)

This is a short book of great excellence. In the first place, it is a representative—and there have not yet been many—of a new kind of book on the interpretation of early music. It takes for granted (what Dolmetsch's pioneering 'Interpretation' of 1916 had to argue) that it is worth investigating an early composer's intentions and the normal practice of his contemporary interpreters. In the second place, the investigation has been ably carried out and is concisely reported. It is restricted so far as direct evidence goes to a single composer, Vivaldi, whose expression markings in his original manuscripts turn out to be much more frequent and explicit than his own contemporary editions often showed. But the implications apply widely to eighteenth-century music; and the book is one with which any modern interpreter of that music would do well to make himself familiar.

In course of the investigation some hardy perennials of modern musicological error receive what I can only hope may be lethal handling. In particular, a joyous attack is made on the gentlemen here dryly dubbed *Terrassendynamiker*—people holding the kill-joy theory that the only



dynamic changes authentically allowable in eighteenth-century music are at the joins of distinct passages, so that the volume remains on contrasted terraces of level sound without *crescendo* or *diminuendo*. The wealth of dynamic nuance actually demanded by Vivaldi in his written scores contradicts this pedantic and unreal misconception about as thoroughly as it well could, thus powerfully reinforcing the more general evidence to the same effect.

This example is typical of many other excellent and practical points of interpretation made with an economy of argument and an exactitude of proof which are in most welcome contrast with the wordier sort of German musicology. The writing is excellent and would translate readily; a translation would be extremely useful and should find a ready market in the English-speaking countries. Meanwhile, those who can follow the clear and unambiguous German are urged to do so.

R.D.

*Festschrift Wilhelm Fischer.* ('Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft', Fasc. 3.) pp. 177. (University, Innsbruck, 1956, Aus. S. 72.00; Mk. 12.00.)

This 'Festschrift' commemorates the seventieth birthday of a notable member of the older school of Viennese musicologists. Wilhelm Fischer, who began his academic career as assistant to Guido Adler and later became Professor at Innsbruck University, is best known by such publications as 'Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wiener klassischen Stils' and his chapters 'Instrumentalmusik von 1450 bis 1880' in Adler's 'Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft'. These are important publications testifying to Fischer's absorbing interest in questions of development and growth of style, a line of study which it was Adler's great merit to have initiated in Vienna at the turn of the last century. As Fischer's anniversary fell in the year of the Mozart bicentenary, the 'Festschrift', appropriately, devotes about a third of its twenty-odd articles to the Salzburg master.

Robert Haas has an interesting article on an unknown Mozart miniature portrait dating from c. 1780 and attributed to the Salzburg painter J. N. Della Croce. This miniature, at present in private possession, is presumed to represent a study for a full-size portrait which Della Croce may have intended as a pendant to his portrait of Mozart's sister. Its peculiarity lies in the fact that the composer is seen holding a book in his left hand, the cover of which bears the initials W and A, the latter upside down. This reversal was a familiar device in old portraiture inviting the spectator to turn the miniature by 180 degrees, so that in the present case the A appears in its normal position while the W, now reversed, becomes an M: Mozart's three initials expressed in two letters. The article includes a reproduction of the miniature.

In 'Mozarts Fénelon-Lektüre' Erich Valentin refers to a letter by the composer to his sister, written from Bologna on 8 September 1770, in which he informs her that he had been reading Fénelon's celebrated 'Aventures de Télémaque'. From this the author deduces that Mozart was far more widely read in the great literature of his age than he is usually credited with, and he goes on to argue that Fénelon's moral thesis, "à transporter les hommes en faveur de la sagesse, de la vertu et la religion", became Mozart's guiding maxim in his mature life. In the

absence of further and more tangible evidence, the validity of these two conclusions can neither be proved nor disproved. But the author's conjecture is certainly acceptable that when Mozart came to write his 'Zauberflöte', something of Fénelon's noble Egyptian King Sesostrius and his prisoner Telemachus was allowed to flow into the symbolic characters of Sarastro and Tamino.

Walter Gerstenberg, in 'Über den langsamen Einleitungssatz in Mozarts Instrumentalmusik', draws attention to the marked fantasy-like character of the composer's slow introductions, especially of his mature period, and sees in their modulatory freedom and inner tension the expression of an irrational and disturbing element. Yet such "demonic" features are already traceable in the keyboard music of Schobert, C. P. E. Bach and the young Mozart, a fact that the author strangely omits to mention.

The contributions on miscellaneous subjects are partly historical, partly analytical studies of style and partly speculative. Of the first group a well-documented article by Ernst Fritz Schmid throws fresh light on the circumstances in which developed Haydn's first *affaire du cœur* with Teresa Keller, nipped in the bud by her parents, who had destined her to take the veil. This she did in 1756, entering the St. Nikolaus convent in Vienna. Haydn, who composed for this ceremony his first organ concerto and probably his 'Salve Regina' in E major, later married her elder sister Apollonia, that *crux domesticus* or, as the husband put it, "mia moglie, quella bestia infernale".

In 'Zu Haydn künstlerischer Entwicklung' Jens Peter Larsen outlines the composer's creative development and discerns seven different stages in it. He makes it clear that in view of the absence of a collected edition and the uncertain chronology of a great number of works, his observations are offered merely as a preliminary rough sketch whose implications call for careful and patient investigations. The underlying object of Larsen's study is to encourage an approach which will emancipate itself from the traditional view that Haydn was in the main a pioneer and the precursor of Beethoven and aims at seeing him as a great composer in his own right.

There is an excellent analytical essay by Leopold Nowak on Bruckner's seventh Symphony, while Rudolf Steglich in 'Zwei Prinzipien in Beethovens fünfter Symphonie' and Hans Zingerle in 'Zum Problem einer Stilgeschichte der ästhetischen Qualitäten' venture into an intriguing but too speculative sphere of thought. Zingerle as the editor prefaces the 'Festschrift' with a warm-hearted appreciation of Professor Fischer.

M. C.

Othmar Schoeck: *Bild eines Schaffens*. By Hans Corrodi. pp. 430. (Huber, Frauenfeld, 1956, Sw. Fr. 19.50.)

After Arthur Honegger's and Willy Burkhard's untimely deaths Othmar Schoeck remains the outstanding German-Swiss composer alive. With his 400-odd songs—chiefly on nineteenth-century romantic poetry—he has continued the lyric tradition of Hugo Wolf in an age becoming increasingly unsympathetic towards the romantic ideal; and in his eight operas he is similarly obsessed with German romanticism. If they, and the songs that are their musical sub-soil, have not become an organic part of German musical life, the blame lies wholly with their composer's

atavistic impregnation with the precepts of the romantic school, so that to represent the pre-ordained fate of a romantic late-comer in an age of dodecaphony, serialism and *musique concrète* as a personal artistic tragedy, as Hans Corrodi attempts to do in this lengthy assessment of Schoeck as man and artist, is deliberately to falsify an unambiguous historic situation. Schoeck's music, beautiful as it is in its lyrical effusion and its sensitive response to the musical quality of great German verse, is totally out of touch with any of the numerous elemental changes affecting the music of the present century, and if that fact is duly taken into account, it is useless to deny that he has had a pretty successful career after all.

Corrodi concerns himself mainly with Schoeck's work, which he discusses with a wealth of detail and with the aid of a profusion of well-chosen musical examples and facsimiles, as well as with analyses of certain processes of harmony and modulation, but also with a complete lack of critical discrimination. His accounts of the operas and their somewhat chequered career, including numerous quotations from eulogistic criticisms and even precise statistics of first-night curtain-calls, sometimes read more like an effusive publisher's "blurb" than a scholarly appraisal of a composer of more than parochial standing.

A biography alternating with long stretches of thematic analysis does not exactly make for easy reading, but Corrodi gives a pleasant impression of Schoeck's childhood. The composer's relations with Busoni, which eventually led to his setting of the latter's libretto for 'Das Wandbild', is briefly touched upon. On the other hand, disappointingly little is said about Schoeck's studies with Max Reger, whose preoccupation with problems of counterpoint seems to have repelled him, nor is any serious attempt made to evaluate the specifically Swiss elements in Schoeck's music. Occasional polemical asides aimed at Stravinsky, Schoenberg and their followers suggest that Schoeck has little sympathy with them; but the present reviewer, who met him informally at Zürich some twenty years ago, retains the impression of a much more genial personality of wider sympathies than that emerging from the pages of this book.

The present publication, prompted by the composer's seventieth birthday (1 September 1956), was preceded by earlier versions in 1930 and 1936, which were too much in the nature of propaganda. It would have been to Schoeck's advantage if this enlarged edition of 1956 had been revised in a spirit of greater scholarly detachment and with rather less of journalistic zeal. An assessment of Schoeck's achievement against the background of modern Swiss music in general would also have been more rewarding, both to him and to the reader. Such a study still remains to be written; meanwhile Corrodi's book is beautifully produced. It contains a useful catalogue of works, a comprehensive if selective bibliography (including the author's innumerable articles on his pet composer), three remarkable facsimiles from as many different periods in Schoeck's career and several portraits, but, alas, no index.

H. F. R.

40 *Schweizer Komponisten der Gegenwart—40 Compositeurs suisses contemporains*. pp. 236. (Bodensee-Verlag, Amriswil, 1956, Sw. Fr. 12.50.)  
*Zur Oper der Gegenwart*. By Armin Schibler. pp. 47. (Bodensee-Verlag, Amriswil, 1956, Sw. Fr. 3.65.)

The bilingual reference book of Swiss composers, published by the

Swiss Music Association, was compiled by Samuel Baud-Bovy, Hans Ehinger, Henri Gagnebin, Hermann Leeb and Peter Mieg. It will be welcome as a complement to Grove, which omits six of those listed here. In addition, it quotes durations of each work listed in the selective catalogues appended to the entries, which enhance its usefulness considerably. Next to the biographies-cum-assessments illustrated by portraits, there are short descriptions of some of the more important compositions.

Schibler, one of the composers included in the above publication, examines the matter of present-day opera in a short but penetrating pamphlet. He considers the various aspects of the problem: the "word-and-note" relation (*Wort-Tonverhältnis*), i.e. the relationship of words to be set to the music to be provided or, more generally, that of the verbal communication to its musical expression; the problem of dramatic action and the various methods of its representation; and the sociological implications of opera as a species of theatre.

The author notes that opera is a synthesis of more than only words and music, and that the potentialities of the other elements have not, as yet, been sufficiently explored. He sees a most rewarding line of development in the discredited "melodrama" (recitation accompanied and emphasized by music): he alludes to 'Fidelio', 'Der Freischütz' and also to Schumann's 'Manfred' as prototypes, and mentions Schoenberg as having made the decisive step in this direction ('Pierrot lunaire'), a contribution to the solution of the problem of our times, the representation of the "thinking man" in opera where only the "feeling man" had so far been pictured. He devotes short chapters to the discussion of other new elements and forms, such as the epic and political theatre and its operatic reflections, the scenic oratorio as a fruitful compromise of words and music (quoting Honegger's 'Jeanne d'Arc' as exemplar), and he enlarges in some detail on the possibilities of the film and the radio. This is followed by a consideration of the work of Orff, Einem's 'The Trial', Stravinsky's 'Rake', the decline of Křenek as opera composer, and Menotti and Britten. In conclusion Schibler reaffirms his belief in opera (*Musik-theater*) as a characteristic expression of European culture.

J. S. W.

*Studi sui testi delle cantate sacre di J. S. Bach.* By Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini. ('Università di Padova: Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia', Vol. XXXI). pp. 291. (Cedam, Padua, L. 3,500.)

Very little writing has been done on Bach in Italy; indeed, Cesare Valabrega's excellent book, published in 1950, was announced as the first Italian work on the master, and I must admit that I cannot think of or find any other. The present book, a special study of the cantata texts, is as important as Charles Sanford Terry's on the same subject, which indeed is referred to so frequently that the author has to content himself with the word *passim* after Terry's name in his index. But Dr. Tagliavini's book must not be regarded as a work designed merely to serve Italians who are unable to read English. His approach is so different from Terry's as to make this treatise obligatory additional reading for students of Bach's church cantatas who know both languages. He does not, like Terry, publish the complete texts; on the other hand he offers a far more exhaustive commentary, which amounts to a very serious, learned and

reliable product of the finest scholarship. There is nothing like it in German of the same comprehensiveness (the author handsomely acknowledges useful smaller works by Dürr, Wustmann and others), so that it is not surprising that the Bärenreiter-Verlag has undertaken the distribution north of Italy, and it would be no more so if that house undertook a German translation.

Much of it is German already, and Dr. Tagliavini, with touching faith in his musically learned compatriots, leaves it all untranslated and, in the case of quotations from old texts, even in Gothic type. To show how painstaking he is, I may say that I have not detected a single mistake in the German and add that in quotations shown in Latin type he even goes to the length of using the German symbol for double S, rather like the Greek *beta*. Such a work, sponsored by an ancient University and recommended to its Council by three distinguished experts, is of course not for the lay reader, in Italy or anywhere else; but let us hope that Italian scholars and others will take it as seriously as it has been conceived and carried out.

E. B.

*Acústica musical y organología*. By Tirso de Olazábal. ('Biblioteca Manuales Musicales'). pp. 174. (Ricordi, Buenos Aires, 1954.)

Designed for students of the Buenos Aires Conservatorio, where the author is professor of acoustics, this work is an exemplary product of a vigorous mind. His aim to co-ordinate recent scientific and technical developments with past experience and to re-define and where necessary adapt old laws governing acoustic phenomena is thoroughly and powerfully achieved. Those who have read Tirso de Olazábal's recent scores will recognize the same character at work and admit that Argentine music is at last taking the place some of us have been expecting for rather a long time.

We should all agree with him that the study of acoustics ought to be obligatory in music academies. I would go farther and suggest that every school music-teacher should have such a book as this at hand. During the years of teaching music in a school of over twenty nationalities in war-time Lisbon, when it seemed advisable if not expedient to base the work on direct application of universal and organic laws of music, rather than on the cultivation of national taste, the search for a school primer was frustrated and one was compelled to improvise. But the joyous alacrity with which kindergarten poly-tots seized on the first law that sound cannot exist without silence, and the division of first-form classes into octaves for the playing of "human" intervals, made the study of transposition in the second forms a simple matter. It even led to rather advanced acoustic enquiry in the upper reaches of that legendary experiment in international co-education on the shores of the Tagus, where from our school beach we could watch German planes attacking allied merchant shipping beyond—but only just beyond—the bar.

Why don't our school scientific exhibitions give space for demonstrations of Chladni's experiments in vibrational patterns; for oscillograms recorded by the phonodeik; for the evolution of electric instruments and sound-track machinery, even? All of which Mr. Olazábal explains and demonstrates with enlightening precision.

A. L. L.



## CORRESPONDENCE

*To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'*

### TELEMANN'S COLLECTED WORKS

Sir,

My review of four volumes of this edition seems to have dismayed Mr. Lefkovitch<sup>1</sup>. The volumes dismayed me. May I answer some of his points?

(1) Valentin's biography of Telemann was not sent me for review, nor does the edition anywhere suggest that his book is to be considered as prescribed reading for reviewers. The biography may well make it clear that only a selection of Telemann's music is to be published; my complaint was that the scope of the edition is not defined by its title, and that many would be disquieted by the prospect of a limitless transfusion of Telemann into the bloodstream of music. Mr. Lefkovitch commends 'Der harmonische Gottesdienst' as "the first complete alternative to J. S. Bach's set we have had published in recent years". First things first: since Bach's are not available at present, and are not likely to be for another decade, musicians are not offered alternatives—would that they were! Nor will contemporary composers be encouraged to undertake such a project if they can be assured of publication only some two centuries after their death.

(2) Even the most enthusiastic admirer of Telemann would hardly place him on a level with Mozart and Schubert. When we can obtain cheap, complete and competent editions of the towering peaks of music—Bach, Handel, Purcell, Haydn, Palestrina and the rest—then will be the time for mapping the foothills. But we shall all lose our way if the scholarly surveyors are encouraged to busy themselves in the lowlands, which is what seems to be happening at present. Bad music has a habit of driving out good music; it was once an affectation to prize Buononcini more than Handel, but I do not see why we should encourage ninnies. That Bach transcribed one piece of Telemann's for the organ proves nothing. Must we publish the collected works of Michelangelo Rossi, G. H. Stölzel and His Grace Johann Ernst of Saxe-Weimar, just to show that we are less tactful than Bach?

(3) I am delighted to learn that the 'Methodische Sonaten' are also available in an edition comprising only the melody line and the figured bass. But in that case why should the precious time of music-engravers have been occupied in preparing *two* modern editions of the same second-rate music? And would not the issue of a facsimile edition have left them free to attend to the far more urgent needs of Bach, Handel, Mozart, Haydn and the rest? The great skill of music engravers is to be prized, not squandered. Telemann's faulty notation of dotted rhythms: the main principles of its interpretation have been understood for more than fifty years, and no new sources are likely to alter them. One player in a

<sup>1</sup> Letter in the January 1957 issue, p. 110.



hundred knows about these principles, which apply to Telemann, Bach, Handel and a dozen others. Until editors realize their great responsibility in such matters, the other ninety-nine will go on playing a travesty of the music, and their teachers will continue to ignore the very existence of the problem. As a result the composer's memory will be publicly mocked in the concert-room, the broadcasting studio and the LP record factories. In such circumstances, no reviewer can remain silent.

Jesus College,  
Cambridge.

THURSTON DART.

18 December 1956.

#### AN "UNPUBLISHED" PURCELL SETTING

Sir,

Mr. Cutts's contribution to the January issue of 'Music & Letters' calls for comment. 'The earth trembled', the "unpublished Purcell setting" of his title, was in fact published in the first volume of Henry Playford's 'Harmonia Sacra' in 1688 and was reprinted by Vincent Novello in the third volume of his edition of Purcell's sacred music. It appears in at least two manuscripts other than the Stoneleigh one: Barber Institute (University of Birmingham) MS M5002 and Durham Cathedral MS Mus.A.8. Purcell's setting of Cowley's 'Awake, awake, and with attention hear', which Mr. Cutts states is also unpublished, was printed in the same two publications; among manuscript sources Purcell's autograph in Royal MS 20.h.8 is far more important than the later, eighteenth-century copy mentioned by Mr. Cutts. I am sorry to deprive Mr. Cutts of the *raison d'être* of his article, but he really should have known better than to search only in secular sources for a paraphrase of Isaiah and a "divine fancy".

Yet his paper is not without interest. In the sources listed above, 'The earth trembled' is set for a treble. In the Stoneleigh MS it is set for a bass, and I suspect from the nature of the music that Purcell originally wrote it in this form. This newly-discovered copy is another reminder that several of the treble songs in Playford's publications may never have been conceived as treble songs at all.

Incidentally, a number of what do seem to be unknown sacred works by Purcell have come to light during the last year or so. In addition one or two works hitherto regarded as genuine seem not to be so. I hope to write about them after further consideration.

London, W.14.

NIGEL FORTUNE.

1 January 1957.

I must take my share of the blame with Mr. Cutts. Like him I failed to verify the absence of 'On Our Saviour's Passion' in catalogues of Purcell's works under 'Sacred Songs with Continuo', where it is duly listed both in Professor Westrup's book on Purcell in the 'Master Musicians' series and in the fifth edition of Grove's Dictionary, though not under that title but under the opening words, "The earth trembled". Since both these works appeared under my editorship, I too ought "to have known better" than to look for it only under the heading of "Songs with Continuo" in Grove and to forget that there is a separate section of sacred songs. It is no excuse to say—yet I do say it—that at least I am not sorry to have

published the contents of the manuscript music-book at Stoneleigh Abbey and the bass version of Purcell's setting of Quarles, since Dr. Fortune surmizes this to be its original and so far unpublished form. A similar letter has been received from Professor J. A. Westrup. ED.

### THE VIOLA D'AMORE

Sir,

May I correct the opening remarks of my article published in your issue of January 1957? I quoted Editha Knocker's translation of Leopold Mozart's reference to the viola d'amore:

It is a distinctive kind of fiddle which sounds especially charming in the stillness of the evening. This instrument is constantly out of tune.

The second sentence is faulty: what Leopold Mozart actually wrote is "Dieses Instrument leidet viele Verstimmungen". The verb "leidet" here means "permits of", not "suffers from", and while "Stimmung" is "tuning", "Verstimmung" in this context means *scordatura*, not "mis-tuning" or "out-of-tuneness". The whole sense is thus quite different, and instead of condemning the many strings of the viola d'amore, Leopold Mozart was explaining them.

I am indebted to Miss Dorothy Swainson for pointing out my perpetuation of Miss Knocker's mis-translation and for giving me the correct interpretation. My apologies to your readers.

Wembley Park,  
5 January 1957.

HARRY DANKS.

Sir,

Readers of Mr. Danks's article 'The Viola d'Amore' may be interested to know that the British Museum possesses a microfilm of the now very rare tutor for the instrument by Carl Zoeller. This microfilm is available on application in the usual way.

British Museum,  
Music Room,  
London, W.C.1.  
21 January 1957.

A. HYATT KING,  
Superintendent.

### HAYDN PIANOFORTE SONATAS

Sir,

The Joseph Haydn Institut at Cologne, who are the publishers of the new Collected Edition of Haydn's works, have asked me to prepare a critical edition of all his pianoforte sonatas. I should be grateful if any of the smaller libraries or any private persons who own either autographs or contemporary manuscript copies of Haydn sonatas would kindly communicate with me. In particular, I am most anxious to locate eight lost sonatas of which only the opening bars have been preserved. They are shown in Haydn's 'Entwurf-Katalog' and in the Ellsler Catalogue of 1805.

Eitelberggasse 13,  
Vienna XIII.

CHRISTA LONDON.

10 January 1957.

## BACH'S COPIES OF AMMERBACH

Sir,

Mr. Stanley Godman's article, 'Bach's Copies of Ammerbach's Orgel oder Instrument Tabulatur', in your issue for January 1957 greatly interested me. On p. 23 he refers to an unidentified "Longman". In 'Music Publishing in the British Isles' by Charles Humphries & William C. Smith we read:

Longman, Rees & Co., Booksellers, 39 Paternoster Row, London. Their names appear in the imprint of 'Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards . . . By Edward Jones . . . The third Edition . . . The first Volume. London: Printed for the Author . . . 1808 . . . '.

Therefore, this is most probably the Longman who acquired the Bach copy of Ammerbach from Edward Jones.

The musical four-part setting given by Mr. Godman (p. 27) is extremely interesting, as it is written with the same time-signature as is used by J. S. Bach for his much-discussed Fugue IX (Bk. II). (See Rothschild's 'The Lost Tradition in Music', p. 194, and the penetrating article in reply by Mr. Walter Emery on 'The London Autograph of "The Forty-Eight"', M. & L., April 1953).

Niecks in 'A Concise Dictionary of Musical Terms' (first pub. 1884) pointed out that "The common English classification [of time] differs entirely from the German . . . the English takes note only of the large divisions of the measure, the German only of the elements of these divisions." For instance what we call simple quadruple time, the Germans call compound duple binary time. That is four minims in a bar,  $\frac{4}{4}$  (also marked C or  $\text{C}$ ). And under 'Alla breve' (p. 69): "In older church music a bar generally contained four or eight minims . . . make the breves as short as semibreves (*v. Tactus*)".

Bexhill-on-Sea,

CONSTANCE RICHARDSON.

31 December 1956.

Sir,

Closer scrutiny of the Cambridge copy of Ammerbach has revealed a diagram inscribed in a brownish ink very like the ink in which Bach's signature was written on the title-page. This curious pattern, which is probably more than merely a piece of doodling by an owner of the copy, appears in a blank space on folio 46 after one of the "German dances" ("gemeine gute deutsche Dentze"). This is the diagram:



A letter "d" is inserted in six of the spaces. Analysis shows that the pattern consists of one large triangle and several interlaced smaller ones; and there might have been more if two had not been softened into loops. The large triangle is subdivided into three lozenges and three small triangles. The figure might suggest a dance pattern (with "d" standing

for *Damen?*), but my enquiries have failed to establish any connection between the pattern and the 'Almain' below which it appears. A careful examination of the coloration certainly suggests that the pattern was drawn by Bach himself, assuming, that is, that the signature on the title-page is authentic, which, in view of Burney's inscription, there seems to be no reason to doubt. There is surely at least a resemblance, however, between this figure and the pentagram, the five-pointed figure drawn with one line:



which used to be inscribed on the threshold to keep away the evil one and which Lucy Broadwood thought might be the symbol mentioned in 'Green grow the Rushes, Oh!' ("Five for the symbol at your door").

In Goethe's 'Faust' there is an allusion to this sign as the *Drudenfuss*. It may well be, however, that the resemblance between the two patterns is not significant. I should be most grateful in any case for any suggestions as to the meaning of the remarkable pattern which there is at any rate some reason for attributing to Bach.

Briarcroft,  
St. Michael's,  
Lewes.

STANLEY GODMAN.

15 January 1957.

#### STUART ROYAL "ENTERTAINMENTS"

Sir,

I read Mr. Eric Halfpenny's account of Charles II's "Entertainment" ('MUSIC & LETTERS,' 1957, p. 37) only a few days after glancing through Thomas Dekker's version of a similar show the city put on for James I at his accession. Actually the events Ogilby describes were not quite so unique as Mr. Halfpenny seems to imply, as I realized on re-reading Dekker's 'The Magnificent Entertainments: Given to King *James*, Queen *Anne* his wife, and *Henry Frederick* the Prince, upon the day of his Majesties Triumphant Passage (from the Tower) through his Honorable Citie (and Chamber) of *London*, being the 15. of March. 1603 . . . Tho. Dekker . . . 1604'. Although this account does not always specify the numbers of musicians employed, or their instruments, the resources must have been considerable. They included the city waits, the choristers of St. Paul's and an indeterminate number of trumpets, cornetts, hautboys, sackbuts, violins, viols and lutes—considerably more than fifty.

Seven triumphal arches were prepared for James, as well as other entertainments on the way. Stephen Harrison published descriptions and engravings (by William Kip) of the arches which he designed for the occasion ('The Archs of Triumph . . . 1604'); and there is a version by Ben Jonson of 'His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment. . . . So much as was presented in the first and last of their Triumphall Arch's . . . 1604'. The other pageants, as far as the text is concerned, seem to be mainly Dekker's, assisted in at least one place

by Thomas Middleton—the speech of “Zeal” at Fleet Conduit. Yet another report of the celebrations was published by Gilbert Dugdale (“Time Triumphant . . . Declaring in briefe . . . his late royal progresse . . . 1604”). All these versions are included in Nichols’s ‘Progresses of James I’, Vol. I (1828), pp. 328-419, though I think Harrison’s sumptuous designs (one in Nichols) are the most rewarding study. Their reproduction with Dekker’s and Jonson’s text would make a beautiful “art book”. Unlike David Loggan’s four arches for Charles II, these were largely wooden structures, much more ornate, and amply fitted with musicians’ galleries. Both sets may be compared in Vol. 38 of the Grace Collection of Views in the British Museum Print Room (Harrison’s ff. 20-23, Loggan’s ff. 24-27). A. M. Hind’s ‘Engraving in England’, Vol. II (1955), pp. 17-29, deals with the matter extensively and also reproduces Harrison’s title-page as well as three of his arches (1, 3 and 4; plates 1-3), but sadly reduced in scale.

The first arch, in Fenchurch Street, represented *Londinium*; the second was “erected by the Italians: the cost theirs: the Invention their owne” in Gracechurch Street; the third by the Dutch merchants near the Royal Exchange on Cornhill; the fourth, called *Nova foelix Arabia*, above the Great Conduit in Cheape; the fifth, called *Hortus Euporiae* (Charles II also had a “Garden of Plenty”), close to the Little Conduit in Cheape; the sixth, called *Cosmos Neos*, above the Conduit in Fleet Street; the seventh and last, called *Templum Jani*, at Temple Bar. (The City of Westminster and the Duchy of Lancaster provided their own entertainments in the Strand). The musicians were placed in the galleries of all the arches except the second, third and sixth, and the engravings actually show some of them, though with what accuracy as to instruments it is difficult to say. But it is possible to build up quite a picture of the musical performances of that day, by reading the three texts synchronously and with reference to Harrison’s designs.

At the first arch “from a Gallery directly over the Gate, the sound of loud musicke (being the *Waites* and *Hault-boyes* of the *Citie*) was sent forth” (Harrison). The engraving shows six musicians: two shawms, two cornetts and two sackbuts (?). No musicians are visible at the Italian arch, yet Dugdale mentions “shalmes and cornets, whose noyse was such as if the Triumph had beene endles . . . [and] . . . shewes appointed with severall harmonies of drums, trumpets, and musique of all sorts” at this stage. There is no indication of any music at the Dutch arch, although this does not necessarily mean that there was none. At St. Mildred’s, Poultry, between the third and fourth, “nine trumpets and a kettle-drum, did very sprightly and actively sound the *Danish march*” (Dekker)<sup>1</sup>, for the benefit of the queen. The twin galleries of the next arch each contained a consort of seven or eight instruments: that on the left (south), of viols and lutes; that on the right, of a transverse flute, shawms, cornetts and sackbuts (?). Here was sung a song—“*Troynovant* is now no more a *Citie*”, “which, to a loude and excellent musicke, composed of violins, and another rare artificiall instrument, wherein, besides sundre severall sounds effus’d (all at one time), were also sensibly distinguisht the chirpings of birds, was by two Boyes (Choristers of *Paule’s*) delivered in sweete and

<sup>1</sup> Is this an early appearance of the tune arranged by Jeremiah Clarke as the ‘Trumpet Voluntary’?—Ed.

ravishing voyce". At the fifth arch, *Hortus Euporiae*, there was the musical *pièce de résistance*: "*Sylvanus* drest in greene ivie, a cornet in his hand, being attended on by foure other *Sylvans* . . . winde instruments in their hands" acclaimed Apollo, the sound of which "was borne up into the ayre, and there mingled with the breath of their musicall instruments". Later, "the voyces of Nine Boyes (all of them Cheristers of Paule's) who in that place presenting the Nine Muses, sang the dittie following, to their viols and other instruments". The arch bore two galleries, the right-hand one containing the Seven Liberal Arts, the left-hand one the Nine Muses: a veritable "musicke-roome, by reason of the chaunge of tunes that daunced round about it; for in one place were heard a noyse of cornets, in a second a consort, a third, which sate in sight, a set of viols, to which the Muses sang"—*Aderitque vocatus Apollo*. "Musicke", as one of the liberal arts, then sang the following song with chorus: 'Shine, Titan, shine'. The design (left) shows a consort of lutes and wind instruments as well as a single singer, nine in all. Between the fifth and sixth arch the company passed St. Paul's, "upon whose lower batlements an antheime was sung, by the Quiristers of the Church, to the musicke of loud instruments". At the sixth arch a song "went foorth at the sound of haultboyes, and other lowde instruments"—'Where are all these honors owing?'. The last of the city's arches was the Temple of Janus, the top gallery of which carried seven cornetts and a sackbut (?), four instrumentalists a side.

The sum of £400 was contributed from the city companies in proportion to their riches (document in Nichols, pp. 400-1), but I cannot believe that this was enough to pay for such an occasion even then. Perhaps some research will clarify the matter and reveal more precise details of the number and type of musicians employed. This and other entertainments, furnished throughout the seventeenth century by the livery companies individually and together, have been too long neglected in so far as a study of their music is concerned. I hope somebody will start by publishing a list of them, and a guide at least to other sources, which I imagine have been well preserved. J. G. Nichols's 'London Pageants . . .' (1831) is still perhaps the most useful book on the subject (especially pp. 59-84 and pp. 100-119), but rare and deficient in many respects. That little has been done since, particularly regarding the music, is one of the City's "mysteries" which should not be perpetuated.

Crawley, Sussex.

IAN SPINK.

23 December 1956.



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